The Journal of the Friends Historical Society

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THE JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITORIAL

The Editor apologises to contributors and readers for the delayed appearance of this issue.

Volume 60, No 2 begins with John Punshon's stimulating Presidential Address, exploring the nature of historical inquiry and historical writing, with specific emphasis on Quaker history, and some challenging insights in his text.

Diana Morrison-Smith launches an occasional series in which annotation and commentary will accompany the text of a Quaker historical document. Her choice of document enables us to share the moving spiritual journey of Elizabeth Walmsley and the part played in it by Isaac Penington.

Information of a new selection of Isaac Penington's writings, manuscript transcriptions by Diana Morrison-Smith, is included with this issue.

Following the fire of March 2005 Sue Smithson and Hilary Pinder remind us of the place of Jordans Meeting House in Quaker history.

With the Presidential Address in mind, W Raymond Powell's CHARLOTTE FELL SMITH explores a remarkable contribution to historical research and writing, both Quaker and other.

The Annual General Meeting of the Friends Historical Society will take place before the Presidential Address at Britain Yearly Meeting at York, on Tuesday, 2 August, in a Lecture Theatre in the Exhibition

Centre between 7.00 and 7.30 p.m. Sir Christopher Booth's Address on THE QUAKERS OF COUNTERSETT AND THEIR LEGACY will be given at 7.45 p.m., with John Punshon on the chair.

The Executive Committee hopes to arrange, if there is a sufficiently positive response, a short visit to the 1652 Country during the autumn of 2006. The suggestion will be put to members at the Annual General Meeting on 2 August at York.

A meeting will be held on Saturday, 26 November 2005, at Friends House, London, to mark the centenary of the death of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. The main speaker will be Edward H Milligan. There will be a morning and an afternoon session. Further details will be available in the autumn Newsletter.

Further to Faith Rodger's and Margret Lawson's article on the QUAKER TAPESTRY in Volume 59, Number 3, pages 204-210, the appeal has raised sufficient funds to allow a two-year 'breathing space' to determine future initiatives for the Tapestry. Meeting for Sufferings is to receive a report in the autumn following the consultation held earlier this year.

This issue brings the backlog of issues to an end. Volume 60, Number 3 should appear in late autumn 2005.

The Editor welcomes articles or short items for consideration for inclusion in future Journals. Contributors are advised to use the MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association) STYLE GUIDE in the preparation of material. This is available from Subscriptions Department, Maney Publishing, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL (e-mail: maney@maney.co.uk) or online at the MHRA's website (www.mhra.org.uk). The Editor's decision is final as regards publication or revision.

Howard F Gregg

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRADITION

Reflections on the Writing of Quaker History

Introduction

I would like to begin by saying what a pleasure it is to be here, to come to Yearly Meeting and see so many old friends and acquaintances, but also to be present at this Presidential session of the Friends Historical Society - still more, actually to *be* the President of the Friends Historical Society. This distinction does not lead to positions of considerable emolument, like the study of Greek, as Dean Gaisford once remarked, but it is the nearest one gets to an honour in the Society of Friends, and I would like to extend my great gratitude to the Friends Historical Society for recognizing me in this way.

I also now have the opportunity of paying tribute to the Friends Historical Society and the enduring value of the *Journal*. In the course of what I have to say, I shall be mentioning the various reasons people have for both reading and also writing Quaker history, and the ways in which the styles of doing this have changed over the years. The *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* is one of the best places to note how these changes have come about. It has always been the forum of the gifted amateur and the dedicated localist and never the preserve of the academically high-and-mighty. That is its great strength. It is, like the Friends Historical Society itself, a monument to faith seeking understanding, an expression of concern for the well-being of the Society of Friends at large, and a concern that when we speak of the past we try to maintain our testimony of being truthful.

There is also the great pleasure of occupying the same platform as many other people down the years whom one has known or whose work one has benefited from. One can't really name names, because the process would be endless, but it is a source of great satisfaction to us all, I am sure, that the line continues and shows no sign of coming to an end.

So that you will know what is coming, let me say that after a few more introductory remarks about my approach to writing Friends history, I want to look briefly at each of my own books as illustrations

of the process. One is an outright history, of course, but the others, while having a different focus, are strongly influenced by historical considerations, and reflect the interests of a mind which finds meaning, significance and wisdom in the events and personalities of the past. I then want to look at three matters where history and theory have approached one another productively, and finally to draw some general conclusions.

I chose this rather catch-all title for a variety of reasons, of which the first is personal. I am almost seventy, and have reached the point at which I am interested in assessing the significance of the things that have happened to me during my life. I am interested, so to speak in the nature of my own history. This is not introspection, and the centre of my attention is not my responses to the world, but the nature of the forces that have acted upon me. I have seen the end of fascism and communism, survived Hitler's War and the Cold War, been through the sixties revolution and the Thatcherite and Blairite revolutions. I have seen the rise of conceptual art and the therapeutic culture, South Bank Religion and liberation theology, the internet and cruise control. Plainly, because of my own temperament and inclinations, my main interest has been in religious matters.

I must hasten to say that I am not really a historian. The Dean of Earlham School of Religion nearly fell off his chair when he heard me say that once, but it is perfectly true. Actually, I prefer to see myself as a high class journalist rather than an historian, because I am a populariser rather than an originator. I am interested in the big picture rather than the painstaking build up of fact and inescapable inference that real historians deal with. History is a discipline with its own methods and standards, of course, and I have tried to practice and respect them. But I guess I stand in the same relationship to real history as a literary critic does to works of literature. My main interest has always been the contextualisation of Quakerism against its historical and cultural background as well as its particular internal developments.

I don't regard that as something negative, be it said, because serious critics are of a constructive disposition. At their best they teach us how to appreciate what we read, and give us insights that we might otherwise have overlooked. We don't have to go the whole way with modern theories of meaning to accept that writers can say more than they either intend or know, and traditionally, the task of the critic had been to reveal some of these meanings. Though it is a parasitic craft, it has its own standards, and we all know good and bad criticism when we see it.

My critical insight, such as it is, has two principles. The first is that history has its disciplines and they need to be respected. There is a world of difference between trying to write as accurate an account as possible, and being seen, subsequently not to have managed it, and on the other hand, to set out to write an account of an event, a life, a period or a development from a recognized but unacknowledged point of view. I think that the first kind of historical writing can in certain cases aspire to art, but I see the second as special pleading rather than a scholarship. My second principle is expressed in two *bons mots*. As Clemenceau said, "War is much too serious a thing to be left to the generals." and as George Bernard Shaw said, spelling out the reason why this is, "All professions are conspiracies against the laity." This is how I justify my position as a critic. History is about the world which encircles the historical profession, and I am a part of that world. An outsider, but a sympathetic outsider.

I am concerned for historical writing among Friends and about Friends at two levels also because these two levels affect one another significantly. At the lower level there is what I might call the heritage effect. By this I mean that one is surrounded wherever one looks by historical assumptions in the normal course of one's Quaker life. "Ah, the trip to the 1652 country!" "Ah, why haven't we retained the enthusiasm of the early Friends?" "Ah, I don't know what George Fox would have said about that!" But popular historical assumptions are not necessarily good history, and many of those I hear and read are either erroneous or given a context that fits the predilections of the speaker. In the same way that every Friend is his or her own theologian - the one occupation that for Quakers requires no previous experience or training - many Friends are also their own historians - with similar consequences.

But higher up, in the academic headwaters, changes take place which take time to filter down to the popular level. Though part of my argument is to say that historical interest and concern is the lifeblood of our Society, (or has been up to now), the other part is to draw attention to some of the radical changes that have occurred in our understanding of the basic disciplines of history in the last forty years. One occasionally reads references to 'the crisis in the humanities'. I see this manifested in the often unconscious struggle taking place between modernism and postmodernism in the minds of many liberal Friends.

What I mean is this. Faith communities in general, and the Society of Friends of Truth in particular, are now being faced with a fundamental cultural challenge that says that even if there is a truth, it is inaccessible to us with the intellectual instruments we have at our

command. We might be willing to concede that there may be different aspects of the truth, or that some may discern one aspect and others another. But suppose we remove the category of 'truth' from our minds entirely? What then? A radical reappraisal of our history no less than our theology will then be called for.

If postmodern ways of thinking have any merit at all, and they do, we are entering a significant, and, if you pardon the word, historical, debate about the fundamental basis of knowledge, and that necessarily implies historical knowledge. Britain Yearly Meeting becomes part of the debate in this way. Escaping from the restraints of evangelical theology in the late nineteenth century , the Yearly Meeting opted for a form of liberal theology which was in turn based on Enlightenment rationalism, the great merit of which was that it substituted dispassionate enquiry for superstition, claiming that it is possible to establish universally valid truths.

But now, in many quarters, notably in the professions from which many new Friends come, this universal principle, which can alone establish the truth, is under question, with the result that it is increasingly difficult to maintain any sort of corporate commitment as postmodern subjectivism begins to enter the Society. And without a creed of some sort, there is no obstacle whatever to Britain Yearly Meeting relinquishing its liberalism for a new form of subjectivism. Towards the end of this talk, I want to suggest that this is the point we have reached, and to argue that if we see ourselves as a historical people, we have a lot of serious thinking to do about the basis of our historical understanding. If we got our identity from our past, and our assessment of our past is untrustworthy, where does that put us? That is the challenge postmodernism faces us with.

To reveal my hand in advance, I have to assert my conviction that history is one of the humanities, which is the name we give to studies which take human beings, their societies and activities as their subject matter. Not only are they an important source of knowledge, but what makes them distinctive is their moral quality - they civilise and improve us. They therefore have an inherent tendency towards liberalism and tolerance, and they also reveal to us the deep sources of our own personal and corporate identity. Quaker history is therefore of very great importance, and without a knowledge of it our corporate life is diminished. To understand our history is to understand ourselves. It also requires us to be able to defend the integrity of the discipline.

How I Write History

Let me now turn briefly to explain the approach I take to the writing of Friends history. The most obvious fact is that I am committed. I am writing from the inside rather than the outside. This is a challenge, of course, because this situation has advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that one knows in one's bones the reality about which one is reading and writing. The drawback is that commitment breeds sympathy and Quaker history sometimes becomes hagiography. Indeed, in recent years the early period has been revisited by a number of historians and a very different picture is emerging from that given in the Rowntree series. We can't escape our background, of course, but we need a certain vigilance with our commitments.

I am also interested in people, because, fundamentally, history is something that happens to us. We join it when we are born, and it accompanies us through life. This is why I said that I regard history as one of the humanities. Consider the following topics:

(a) the average age of Quaker marriages in the eighteenth century.
(b) the number of Quaker meeting houses licensed under the Toleration Act in 1715.
(c) the rateable value of the houses of Hicksite and Orthodox members of Philadelphia YM in the run-up to the 1827 separation.
(d) the number of recorded ministers per meeting in Indiana YM 1870 and 1890.

These matters are interesting for a variety of reasons, but one of them is that they rest on some sort of statistical analysis. Underneath statistics, however, there are the lives of real people and the convictions that animate them. The topics I have mentioned involve a number of other matters that are thereby thrown into relief -

the theology of marriage in the eighteenth century.
the size and distribution of the Quaker population in England on the eve of the so called Quietist period.
economics factors influencing the Great Separations in America.
and the genesis of the pastoral system in the nineteenth century.

The broad stream running beneath the statistics and the interpretations is the corporate experience of our co-religionists in all its complexity. What were their lives like? Were they creatures of habit or discipline? Were they attuned to what was happening in the outside world, and if so how? If a hedge was planted and maintained between the meeting and the outside world, what ideas crept under the hedge, and what compromises had to be made between inherited wisdom and contemporary experience? That is where my interest primarily lies.

I think you can see that my standpoint is that of a classical liberal, in the sense that I believe that there is an historical truth to be discovered. There is a difference between explaining and explaining away, and the attempt to write 'scientific ' history can lose that distinction. Keats wrote that "'Beauty - Beauty is truth, truth beauty,' - that is all Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." Well, I fully accept the need for discipline, consistency, accuracy, attention to detail, willingness to face uncomfortable conclusions, willingness to be corrected, and all the academic values without which we do not have integrity, but ultimately, I think history has to tell us, to the best of its ability, what it was like to be alive *then*. That is its magic and that is where it approaches most closely to what Keats called beauty.

And this it does primarily by telling stories. I want to look at what a story is a little later, but I guess most of my own work falls into this category - if not the main narrative of the Society of Friends, commentaries of particular parts of it. So I would now like to look at my own four books from this perspective. They contain history, none of them is original, but they attempt to find meaning and significance by viewing factual information through the lens of other concerns and interests that arise out of the continuing experience of Britain Yearly Meeting, in which my life as a Friend began, and Indiana Yearly Meeting to which I now owe my religious allegiance.

Portrait in Grey

The first book I wrote was, of course, *Portrait in Grey*, which I suppose is a straight story book into which I put everything I thought an informed Friend ought to know or a newcomer might like to know. It began its life as a series of four general talks arranged by Warwickshire Monthly Meeting. When preparing these talks I had to make a choice about what information to include and what to leave out, but also, what kind of shape I was going to give the material so that people might remember something more than just a few disconnected facts. I was not as well-read in the subject then as I later became, but I think, with the resources available to me, I was able to present the history of Friends in such a way as to suggest what really was generally agreed, and also where the areas of controversy were.

When the Literature Committee asked me to write *Portrait in Grey*, they asked for a trial chapter. I knew the Committee were open to new light, but I reckoned it wiser not to shock them over much by writing about the (by then) fairly well established theory about the Puritan origins of Quakerism. So I wrote about the eighteenth century, a suitably uncontroversial period that everybody knows was the heyday of Quietism, (if that isn't a contradiction in terms),

the period when Friends retreated into a refined inwardness which withdrew them from the world and created the 'hedge', the set of practices which kept them isolated from the mainstream of religious life and perhaps betrayed the original world-transforming spirit of the early period.

Now I had an unorthodox view of the significance of this period. It seemed to me to be very creative. The families which later came to the fore as the great capitalists and philanthropists of the nineteenth century were beginning their rise to eminence and were symptomatic of that creativity. It is hard to see how these achievements would have come about without the restrictions on dissenters, objectionable though they might have been on other grounds. Some people will never learn that a university education is not a panacea for all social ills and can actually hold people back, but that is another argument. No, I began to see the shortcomings in J.S. Rowntree's 1859, argument. It is not that I did not feel their force, but rather, as those of you versed in hermeneutics will understand, I felt that there were points that were omitted, and others that were not given the right weight. I hasten to add that I not offering a criticism of Rowntree - simply saying that my criticism occurred to me a century later and would never have occurred to me then. History does, in fact progress.

Anyway, I managed to satisfy the committee, and I am quietly proud that *Portrait in Grey* has held up well, and is in common use as the standard textbook of Quaker history in many of the Friends Schools and Colleges in the United States. But it is curling at the edges a bit, and when someone comes up with a new framework of interpretation, it will get a well-earned retirement.

Encounter with Silence

The way I came to write *Encounter with Silence* was quite different. In 1984, when I was on sabbatical leave at the Earlham School of Religion, I was invited to bring the message (you either take the service or bring the message in pastoral Quaker circles) at the Friends Church in Winchester, Indiana. After meeting I went home to lunch with the pastor and a number of Friends from the meeting. The extempore grace offered by our hostess at that meal was one of the most beautiful prayers I have ever heard. After the meal we got round to talking about worship. Silence punctuated the religious life of the people there, but they had no extended experience of the silent meeting. Out of this conversation came the impulse to write something that would enable the noisy Friends, many of whom feel

the loss of silent worship, and would like more of it, to understand what those of us who are quiet Friends actually *do*.

So how was one to frame such an account? Obviously I could write from personal experience, but I am afraid personal experience has more drawbacks than most Friends are willing to allow. When someone uses 'experience' as an authority for some proposition or other, particularly religious, I always ask, "Experience of what?" The reason is that this answer, 'experience', raises more philosophical questions than it answers. My experience was that of urban England; theirs of rural America. What common terminology might one devise to make communication between denizens of these two Quaker worlds easier? Personal experience? Surely not.

So I devised an approach that contained two elements. The first was obviously the stories I could tell, the experience part of the package. We were all Christians, so the imagery and terminology of the faith was a suitable vehicle. When I talked about Christ, we all knew who we meant - the Son of God who is our saviour. No need to agonise there. So I decided that I would deal with the great themes of Christianity - life, death, salvation, judgment as I had meditated on them, and had my sensibility conditioned by my practice of silent worship in the Society of Friends.

The second element had to be historical. Winchester Friends are who they are because of a sequence of events stretching back far beyond the lifetimes of any of the current members. The same was true of Cotteridge Friends in Birmingham, my then meeting. So to write a book, to conduct a dialogue, to communicate effectively with my Friends in a different tradition, I had to take account of these two sequences of events, and that brought me up short. I could not write effectively about silence without an historical perspective. This obliged me to think about both the similarities and the differences of the two branches of Friends in America in the years following the Civil War of 1861-65. Before the Second Great Awakening reached its peak in the Holiness Revival of that time, silent worship was universal among Friends, traditional, liberal and evangelical alike. There is therefore a period of common Quaker culture lasting, notionally, for 213 years (1652-1865) and then the 119 years from then to 1984 when this lunch took place. So what I had to build on, though I did not realise it at the time, was a common Quaker ancestry and the divergence of the two styles of worship after the 1860s. That is how I first encountered the majority tradition among Friends.

Testimony and Tradition

My Swarthmore Lecture, *Testimony and Tradition*, still in print, contrary to all my expectations, took the theme of worship and put it in a particular context. This book also had a definite beginning. In the 1980s, it was the practice of what was then the Quaker Home Service Literature Committee to have a meeting every year to look at what was selling, what wasn't, what needed reprinting and what sort of unmet demands the bookshop was aware of. One year it was reported that there was a demand for some sort of book about the testimonies. I said what I thought should be in it and the Committee then and there asked me to write it. For some reason I forget, this was impossible, so I was able to resist the committee's pressure and heard no more about it.

Until, some time later, I was in Boston and I received a letter from the Clerk of the Swarthmore Committee. How they knew I was going to be there I do not know. It read "**Dear John, at the last Swarthmore Lecture Committee meeting we thought that at this time the Yearly Meeting might like to hear from you about some matter of contemporary concern. We are sure that there are many things that you would like to say to us, and we would not wish to influence your choice in any way. Nevertheless, the topic of the testimonies seems to us admirably suited to the present concerns of Friends.**" Well, there you are. You can never escape the clutches of the Quaker Mafia, and by the way, I lay claim to being the originator of that term. I won't explain. You know what it means. That is how I came to give the Swarthmore Lecture for 1990.

Underlying the lecture was the sense that our understanding of 'testimony' is moving away from the religious towards the political frame of reference. I think this is mistaken, and I tried to present what we call 'testimony' in terms of two basic conceptions - 'church' and 'tradition'.

Lets take 'Church' first. Historically, the concept of testimony arose out of the standards of discipleship maintained by Friends and codified, naturally enough, in the Discipline. Discipleship itself rested on the spiritual condition of faithfulness, not works, righteousness, or 'success' and that is why the word 'testimony' is used. Now this is something that must be corporately maintained, and the question arises, 'by what authority are these standards made the basis of Friends' corporate commitment'? I found an answer in one of the things I learned while writing *Portrait in Grey*. Of all the different models we can hold up to early Quakerism, the one which fits it best is that of the slightly earlier continental Anabaptist

movement. How, to use specifically Quaker terms, does the Light lead to corporate discernment? Now the Anabaptist part of the argument is that in settling this question there is no question of historical legitimacy. The Church is constituted by Christ directly, here and now, in the gathered community, because they have been gathered by the contemporary word, not the tradition that has been handed down.

This raises a number of questions which were answered in certain way in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, but a hundred years or so later, when the forces of the Protestant Reformation struggled free in the mid-1600s, we were on the eve of recognizably modern times, and the full consequences of freeing the Christian conscience were being worked through. The radicalism of the Anabaptist movement is clearly discernible among Friends - pacifism, simplicity, egalitarianism, the separation of church and state, but the corporate discipline that sustained this witness in the face of persecution proved difficult to maintain as society moved towards toleration, and the equivalent court and country parties appeared in the Society. In other words, we have always had strong internal differences of opinion. In America this has led to separations, but in England, they have usually been contained.

But how? This was the second component of any Swarthmore Lecture, which I want to touch on later. I had for some time been wrestling with the thesis in Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue*, and it struck me that his conception of a tradition was clearly exemplified among Friends. A tradition is not necessarily consistent. Indeed, its lack of consistency is in some senses its life blood. From one point of view a tradition looks like the agenda of a group which has - and here is the point - a recognizable historical continuity - but which is in continual debate over the significance of its doctrines and values. This might help Britain Yearly Meeting, I thought, to see itself more clearly at this point in its history.

Reasons for Hope

To understand the background to my latest book, Friends need to understand a little about World Quakerism. There are roughly 338,000 Friends in the world and about 278,000 (or just over 80 per cent) belong to meetings which have a pastor and a programmed worship service with hymns, choruses, scripture readings and sermons, mostly evangelical in outlook. That means four out of five Friends. That is what I earlier called the majority tradition. Within this group there are two main associations, Evangelical Friends

International, the stricter body, and Friends United Meeting, partly American, but having the bulk of its membership in Kenya.

As a matter of contemporary Quaker politics, i.e., tomorrow's Quaker history, there is a constituency of opinion which thinks that these groups should coalesce, and another which does not. Now I, (in common, I imagine, with a number of others), was approached some time ago for my opinion about this matter. I said that I thought FUM had a distinctive voice and that a realignment at this point would be undesirable. One of the reasons that body is troubled by this proposal is that it is not clear what its identity is and how, if at all, it differs from the yearly meetings in the Evangelical Friends Alliance.

Reasons for Hope is an attempt to define that identity. The problem I faced here was to construct a theology of Quakerism from an evangelical perspective which would mirror the many theologically liberal theories of Quakerism that are on the market. It is an essay in the history of ideas of course, as well as being a theological work. But because the book was for evangelical Friends, it has nothing to say about the unprogrammed tradition, which is why it will be of only limited interest to the members of Britain Yearly Meeting.

The first task I faced was to show the continuities and discontinuities between early Quakerism and silent, unprogrammed, but evangelical type of Quakerism which dominated Britain Yearly Meeting throughout most of the nineteenth century and which gave rise to the programmed pastoral tradition in the USA as the century drew to its close, and which is now, as I have just indicated, the majority tradition in the world Society of Friends. Secondly, I had to make an argument from the nature of contemporary American Christianity that the way forward for Friends was a renewed emphasis on their tradition and not a compromise with the spirit of the age.

The immediate historical question is why the pastoral system and the programmed meeting developed out of silent worship and traditional Quaker church organization. The answer, I think, lies in social factors and not theology, since evangelical principles had resided quite happily in silent meetings for half a century before this development. There are two branches to the explanation, of which the first is that this development co-incided with the decline of subsistence agriculture on the frontier, the new demands of farming for the market, and the problem of distance in the middle western states of Ohio, Indiana and Iowa. Quite simply, people did not have the time to operate a system that was suited to more compact neighbourhoods, even by American standards, in Pennsylvania and the states east of the Alleghenies. Stage one, the problem, was one of personnel.

Stage two was the solution. Friends of an evangelical persuasion were already associated with other evangelicals through their common campaigns for social improvement, the abolition of slavery, temperance, prison reform and so on. Attending other people's religious services, and reading non-denominational, progressive, but evangelical books and other printed material, drew them into the revival movement. Meetings began to organize their own revivals, many new members were attracted, but the traditional system proved unable to cope. The practice emerged of Friends (and others) who conducted a revival, to be asked to stay on to give pastoral and other ministerial help to meetings. Silence declined in importance. Then, quite soon, meetings began to call pastors, and the system emerged.

It must be noted though, that the whole panoply of clerks, ministry, eldership and oversight remained in place, which to this day poses problems to Quaker pastors that those serving in other denominations often do not face. The enthusiasm of the revival meeting led to the adoption of the programmed meeting, but I want to discuss that under another head, because, surprisingly, there is an intimate connection between the teaching of George Fox and John Wesley on the subject of perfection, which I believe had been seriously overlooked by Quaker theologians and historians hitherto, partly because so many of them come from the liberal side of the Quaker divide.

So that gives you some idea of how I have approached the history of Friends. The sympathetic bystander's view of Quaker history if you like. The generalist attitude has its advantages, but the renaissance of Quaker history which I suspect is under way with all the new educational opportunities open to Friends wishing to study their own faith community, will result in much new information and new perspectives which I am sure we should welcome and not greet with suspicion or fears of unorthodoxy.

I would now like to turn and open up some of the theoretical questions I mentioned earlier and see what light they can throw on our understanding of ourselves. I want to do this with reference to three topics, unconnected with one another, that are suitable for the purpose. Each of them will illustrate some controversy, and thereby some general principle underlying the writing of Quaker history. I shall be making reference to:

(1) the question of how sects become denominations,
(2) the place of perfection in Quaker doctrine,

(3) how the origins of Quakerism might best be interpreted.
I shall be circling round the central problem of what agreed narrative, if any, Quakerism has.

Sect and Denomination

First there is the question of variations within the tradition. There are now two main groups of Friends in the world, as we have seen, those which employ the pastoral system and those which assemble for the more traditional silent meeting. Nobody worships, behaves or believes as the early Friends did, so each of these groups is in fact a variant of the original stock, and the question arises, how did this come about?

The short answer is, the impact of the Evangelical Revival, but, I would argue, in its social not its theological consequences. The early nineteenth century was the time when Friends on both sides of the Atlantic were drawn into the range of philanthropic activities I have just noted, and acquired a wide circle of acquaintanceship outside the Society. It seems that in some circles, this form of co-operation reduced both differences and the desire to be different.

We usually use theological categories to discuss this period, and opinion is divided between those who see it as a declension from the purity of Friends traditional faith and practice, and those who see it as a revival of Friends original enthusiasm. Each of these viewpoints was vigorously debated in the early nineteenth century, but the argument draws our attention away from another way of looking at the phenomenon which may have instructive consequences.

When Weber and Troeltsch brought the disciplines of sociology to the classification of religious organizations, they conceived a fundamental difference between churches and sects. The Church is an ideal type exemplified by the state churches of Europe. It claims to include all members of society, has historically sought to preserve its own monopoly and to eliminate opposition. It is hierarchical, closely allied with the state and a patron of education and culture. On the other hand, sects derive from the lower classes and gather round charismatic self-appointed leaders. Commitment is more important than learning. Sects develop distinctive dress and speech codes, rigorous internal discipline, and provide guarded education for their offspring.

Over time, however, sects tend to turn into denominations. Economic mobility, social and religious toleration, and education draw them towards the mainstream. While denominations have a certain historical defensiveness, they tend to adopt the educational

and professional standards of the church type of organization, and almost inevitably, some form of ecumenical consciousness and a longer view of Christian history than sects customarily have.

So the phenomenon of evangelical Quakerism, usually regarded as a theological development, can now been seen in rather a different light. Since there has never been a state church in the United States, religious history has a very different dynamic, for there is no need for self-definition against a massive and monolithic religious establishment. It was therefore far easier there than here for Quaker meetings of an evangelical persuasion to join with others for a whole range of social and philanthropic activities rather than seek to maintain their distinctive testimonies when there seemed to be no contemporary need for them. The evangelical branch therefore began to experiment with, and then adopt the pastorate and the programmed meeting not for theological reasons, but because, socially, it was moving away from the posture of a defensive sect towards that of a comparatively open denomination.

My own feeling is that we can see the stirrings of this kind of movement towards the end of the nineteenth century in Britain, when it was the theology of liberalism that drew Friends into such bodies as the Free Church Federal Council and led to the Scarborough Summer Schools, the setting up of Woodbrooke, the foundation of the Swarthmore Lectures and so on. But this movement was contemporaneous with the rise of the mystical interpretation of Quakerism which satisfied simultaneously the liberal impulse, the sectarian impulse and the world view of Edwardian progressivism. While there are denominational tendencies in Britain Yearly Meeting, my own estimate is that in general the sentiments of British Friends are now indifferent to, rather than sympathetic to the churches at large, and preserve a certain measure of the old sectarian spirit, exemplified by the tendency to say what they are *not*, when asked what they *are*.

Holiness and the Second Blessing

The next matter I want to mention is, in my opinion, of crucial importance in the understanding of American Quaker history, but is almost entirely unknown in this country. My curiosity was first aroused at Woodbrooke, when I came across a book in the library entitled, *The Quaker Methodists of Warrington*, by Arthur Mountfield. It was written in 1924 about two or three little chapels in the Warrington area that grew up in the villages of Stretton, Whitley Reed and Statham and formed an independent connexion at a time

when Methodism was becoming more organized (and authoritarian) and a number of Friends were looking for revival and found it among the Wesleyans. I wondered why.

At the same time I was pondering about the nature of what we call 'convincement' and exactly how it differed from conversion. I thought there had to be such a difference because the people to whom the experience came were already quite experienced Christians and it is inconceivable, at any rate to me, that there had not been some point at which they would have acknowledged Christ's claims upon them. So what was the nature of this subsequent experience? *In Reasons for Hope* I looked at the writings of Mary Penington, Charles Marshall, John Crook, William Dewsbury, Joan Vokins, Francis Howgill and Fox himself, and certain things appeared to me.

Those who experienced convincement went through a period of deep spiritual distress, sometimes years in duration, in which the regular observances of the Church were useless. They turned inward for solace but in fact met a new and different kind of spiritual pain, in which they felt they were being tested and all their secrets revealed. After considerable further distress they emerged triumphant. Not everybody uses the same words, but Fox is characteristically bold, "I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell." This is, of course, a claim to personal perfection.

Now John Wesley, in his *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* claims that perfection is the outcome of the Christian life, and can be expected and looked forward to. There is a significant difference, of course, in that Wesley sees it as a gift of the Spirit, a second blessing followed the first blessing of conversion, to be sharply distinguished from the normal growth in grace which every Christian should seek. Wesleyan perfection can been seen in different ways, but it is to say the least remarkable that both Quakerism and Methodism make the same claim. Is this fortuitous, or is there something in the dynamic of Fox's teaching which was shared by John Wesley?

Several things immediately spring to mind. Fox and Wesley were both Arminian and rejected the doctrine of predestination. In addition, early Friends rejected the idea of imputed righteousness, and it is hard to see on this basis how one can be saved if one has not been convinced, or in some sense perfected. Quakerism and Methodism were both movements of popular revival, often accompanied by ecstatic behaviour. Both deferred to a charismatic leader, and both devolved pastoral and preaching responsibilities to

the local level. They both valued plainness and equality and maintained high standards of personal conduct.

I am just flagging this as a matter of interest, and something that I would like to see explored at some length. In my estimation, much American evangelical Quakerism has a Wesleyan flavour. Part of the reason for this is the movement towards denominational status that I have just outlined. But that is not all. I am sure that while they are not the same thing, there are some strong points of comparison between the doctrines and values of the two groups, and a comprehensive theory of Quaker history would need to give proper weight to these connections.

The Origins of Quakerism

Third, and perhaps most familiar, there is the question of Quaker origins. Quakerism developed rapidly at a time of revolutionary change which marks the end of the *ancien régime* in England and the first faltering steps towards representative government. At any rate, this is what the sequence of events in national history might suggest. But this is hindsight, since not many of the protagonists then had this sort of thing in mind. Can we say we know better by imposing such a scheme on these events? In part, of course, we can, because in many senses we are in fuller possession of the facts.

Friends like W.C. Braithwaite took a Whiggish view of English history which saw representative democracy on the Westminster model as the democratic outcome towards which our political history was tending. This was an idealistic view, but none the worse for that. But this secular idealism also made an idealistic interpretation of Quaker origins possible in the spiritual sense. Out of the loins of the Whig interpretation of history came the mystical interpretation of the beginnings of Quakerism, which until fairly recently had no serious competitor.

But one of the weaknesses of idealistic theories is that not every historically significant person is high-minded, and we must take account of a range of human appetites and desires on a historical process. Also the pressures people are under, particularly the range of available options dictated by social and economic status. Not many of the first Friends had influence or position, being mainly of the yeoman or artisan class and they evince the social and political attitudes we would expect, being highly critical of wealth and many sympathetic to, if not supporters of, the programme of the Levellers.

So from the 1950's an alternative theory gained ground which saw Quakerism as a radical, populist movement with serious political

significance. Marxian, or as I would prefer, materialist social theory places the Quaker movement in the middle of the seventeenth-century crisis of authority. Personally, I don't doubt that this period can be explained in terms of the transition from feudalism to capitalism. From this standpoint, purely religious factors, while not absent, move to the back of the stage as another protagonist, social revolution, moves to the fore.

Quite obviously, if we take our history seriously, who we were then will influence what we think of ourselves now, so these controversies are far from just academically interesting. To confound the picture further, there are new voices offstage which say that neither of these grand theories is necessary to explain the period, and we must look instead to the financial and administrative challenges faced by the governments of the day rather than to ideology or economic circumstances. In other words, if this period in our history is not as distinctive as we have been brought up to think, the almost mythological power that early Quakerism has on our imaginations, is a diminishing force, as one would expect as the surrounding culture is entering a markedly ahistorical phase, and new recruits to the Society bring such presuppositions with them.

So where does the truth lie, when a similar set of data is interpreted in a variety of ways? I remember when I was at Woodbrooke and we arranged a conference to commemorate the tercentenary of the Toleration Act of 1689, one of my colleagues came out of interest and was shocked at the divergence of opinion. "I thought historians *knew* what had happened!" he said in bemusement. We didn't need to enlighten him as to why. But the question is a real one, people ask it, and I think have a right to be told. So where *does* the truth lie? Can we devise some theory of Quaker history that will do justice to the whole?

Conclusions

The answer to this question, which I want to sketch in this final part of what I have to say, is obviously a contemporary one, with the drawback possessed by everything contemporary - it is in the process of becoming out-of-date. While it may not be a final answer, it may help us to engage with our own history at this particular juncture in a way that makes sense. Process is important for Quakers, because history has a different role in our community than, say, Methodist or Baptist history has for them. We construct our identity through history and the sympathetic recreation of what we believe to be the values and frame of mind of our precursors.

Narrative is particularly significant to us as the controversy over origins shows. The mystical, materialist, revisionist, (and, one should add, the evangelical revivalist theory which I have not discussed) all see different significance in the events of the seventeenth century. So, innocent though it may be, we, or I, find myself asking, 'Which is right?'

There are several possibilities. One can simply say there is truth is each and leave it at that. But this not the answer a *discipline* can be content with. To maintain this view it is necessary to have some theory of multiple meanings, which is hermeneutically speaking, perfectly possible. Personal taste is insufficient, and to decide the matter by preference won't do.

It is always possible to say, of course, that the question is unanswerable as it stands, because it is bound to be laden with preconceptions. We should consider this seriously. The materialist theory emerges out of a Marxist view of reality, and granted its truth, the historical portrayal is bound to be correct. Likewise with the mystical theory of origins. Please understand, this is not to say that people will find what they are looking for. The very idea that we can be independent of our preconceptions *is itself* a preconception. This argument raises the important point that in the humanities we are dealing with human beings as they are, and it would be contrary to reason to think that we can study ourselves without *being* ourselves. It does not follow from the fact that people have different opinions about the truth, that there is no such thing as the truth to be found.

Unless of course, one is some sort of postmodernist. Postmodernism rests on several propositions. Our experience of the world is held to be constituted by our linguistic experience. Language, terminology, and conceptual frameworks are constructed by dominant groups to serve their own purposes resulting in the exclusion or marginalisation of subordinate groups. This being the case, the historical tradition and the literary canon must be deconstructed to show up the ulterior motives and purposes of the dominant group in order to facilitate their replacement. Chief among these instruments of domination is the 'grand narrative', the overarching interpretation of historical experience which gives self-identity to the group. Now if the sources we have available to us are filtered through the dominant narrative, we will not be in a position to recognize the truth at any level of abstraction such as a grand narrative requires, because we are precluded from the data which might make this a possibility. So goodbye to overall interpretations of history, and goodbye to the possibility of 'Quaker' history in the sense that I have been talking about it.

There are three responses to postmodernism, I think, each of which is important to Quaker historians. The first is simply a defence of traditional ways of thinking. Although one can accept that people write about the past with conscious and unconscious biases, it does not follow that the consensus of critical professional opinion cannot make allowances for these things and come to a reasonable conclusion about the truth of any matter.

The second response flows from this. History is certainly written from particular standpoints, usually in the form of the assumptions brought to the task and the weight given to different parts of the evidence. Suppose we were to say, yes, there is no unbiased history, the best history is written with biases and why not? We don't need to make the postmodern move and say that *therefore* we cannot get at the truth through the barrier of presuppositions. We can say that the real field of history is revealing and then debating the presuppositions, because the question of truth transcends history and we know it when we see it because we have a prior understanding of the conditions on which it is revealed to us. This is the proper way to contextualize our *religious* story.

I think that this is what Friends have always done. Britain Yearly Meeting has had serious divisions in the past, and the minority groups have simply faded away. In America the divisions are real and permanent, and many of the minorities have survived, so no grand narrative of Quakerism can be established unless it is firmly based on the reality of the divisions. I have to stress this point. Herbert Morrison used to say, "Socialism is what a Labour Government does." With equal insouciance, British Friends tend to think, "Quakerism is what Britain Yearly Meeting says it is." Both propositions are equally false, though one suspects that Morrison, at any rate, had his tongue in his cheek.

No, I think that we can do a lot worse than turn to Alasdair MacIntyre's conception of a tradition as the vehicle for our thoughts. Let me put it like this. Any group such as Friends will have its own contemporary standards, but at the same time represent a tradition, possessing all kinds of beliefs, customs and practices that have come down to it. That is the usual sense of the word. But suppose we define it as "An argument extended through time in which certain fundamental agreements are defined and redefined in terms of two kinds of conflict: those with critics and enemies external to the tradition and those internal, interpretive debates through which the meaning and rationale of the fundamental agreements come to be expressed, and by whose progress a tradition is constituted. "(*After Virtue*, Notre Dame, 1978, p.86)

Now if we are aware that Quaker history has often been polemical or ideological, we could nevertheless conceive a history written on these principles which would both give due weight to the controversies that animate us, past and present, but also school us into a fuller appreciation of alternative points of view through what is essentially a dialectical process. Judgments as to truth are still possible, but we are clear what the hurdles are which they must jump in order to be tenable and capable of withstanding criticism.

To conclude, may I sound a note of warning and encouragement. These remarks have been reflections on the activity (I won't call it "work") of an historically engaged person. I find it increasingly difficult to communicate with those who have been educated more recently than I, because they seem to lack both knowledge and interest in the past. We have a Prime Minister, for example, who believes that history cannot pose us any problem we cannot solve. But sadly, as Cicero said somewhere, to be ignorant of the past is to remain a child. I am sure we are living in a profoundly ahistorical age.

This is a standing challenge to Friends, who have always been a profoundly historical people, once for theological reasons, when they posed an alternative reading of Christian history to the larger Christian community. Now, however, because they lack that previous theological consensus, they have to look to some other source to understand their character and identity. And it is to their history that they have looked. So where is that history to be found? Since we do not have people specially charged with the duty of providing it, the responsibility falls on all of us who have ever received the Muse's summons to do our bit. I congratulate the Friends Historical Society for its great achievements in the past and conclude by saying that it has never been needed more.

John Punshon

Presidential Address given during Britain Yearly Meeting in London, 30 May 2004

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRIEND ON THE BENCH

The testimony of Elizabeth Walmsley

Summary

Evidence of this early Friend has emerged, via a few letters and her own "Testimony", amongst the unpublished correspondence of Isaac Penington. This correspondence is currently the subject of a study to be published by 'Quaker Life'.

The Testimony provides an account of the convincement of a first generation "Friend on the Bench". It is an insight into Penington's relationship with members of his local meeting and the character of his outreach and oversight.

Most importantly, however, it is a rare memorial to the usually anonymous local Friends whose faithfulness in keeping their meetings held the firm centre from which our early leaders were able to do great things.

Background

A current study centred on the unpublished letters of Isaac Penington[1] is revealing tantalising glimpses of individuals in the "crowd of witnesses" who sat on the benches with the more public and therefore better known founders of Quakerism. The characters and experiences of our early leaders are well documented and leap out at us vividly from their often voluminous writings[2] but the contribution to our history of those who appear only as footnotes was as fundamental.

These "footnotes" are the local Friends who kept the meetings going while their leaders were removed to jail or were travelling on Quaker business. They cared for each other, supported each other's families, discoursed with each other on their spiritual insights, discussed the theological expositions of their more weighty members and read out the "notices" or letters from each other[3] - much as we do in our Meetings today. Unlike today, however, they risked being fined for attending meeting and having their goods distrained for non-payment. Periodically they openly disagreed with each other. Other tensions, such as strains on family relationships, can only be guessed at by reading between the lines. Usually an indication of their existence as individuals survives only if they happened to be

mentioned in the correspondence of a well known personality, or if they were formally recorded as having "suffered" materially and/or physically for their witness.

The name Bridget Atley for example is one such Friend on the Bench. We know her as a recipient of a few of Penington's letters valued for their content, not at all for their addressee.[4] Yet a brief paragraph in the records of the sufferings of Friends in Buckinghamshire hints at the personality behind the name and brings to life the stresses under which such ordinary Friends met and worshipped together. Goods to the value of £14, mainly her beds, bedding and kitchen equipment, were taken from this "widow woman" to satisfy a fine of £8.5s "for being at a meeting".[5] The name of the justice who issued the warrant is carefully recorded as "an eager Persecutor". This single paragraph recording the simple witness of a local Friend has no less impact than Penington's own well-documented persecution. We treasure such records, however fugitive, not only because they honour the individuals concerned, but also because they give context to the lives of our more prominent founders.

A closer family friend of the Peningtons to whom we are similarly introduced as an addressee of Isaac's letters was Elizabeth Walmsley. Elizabeth seems to have been a significant member of Chalfont Meeting, by which she was probably held in high regard as Penington entrusted her specifically with his often weighty letters to what was until mid-1666 his local Meeting. Several letters from Isaac to Elizabeth are preserved, but three he wrote to her from jail in the first half of 1666 show us her personality and her role in Isaac's ministry to his Meeting. The first two are short personal letters of encouragement and support in her faith. The third ends with a reference to an enclosure[6] which he wants Elizabeth to read out - obviously to the Meeting as a whole, not just to their immediate circle with whom Elizabeth would have been much more comfortable. She is an anxious woman, a "worrier", clearly not a public speaker but firmly convinced of the Truth. Penington is well aware how unsure she feels about her ability to do his words justice, but he has no doubts. He acknowledges her feelings of inadequacy, urging her to stay focussed and concentrate on the words: "Look not out for if the Lord make thy heart willing and be with thee in it, it will be an acceptable service from thee to him, although it should be outwardly hard", although in true Quakerly fashion he does not insist: "yet I lay not upon thee, but leave it to thy freedom and disposal otherwise, if thou find a more convenient way of having it read".[7] Elizabeth replies "thine to Friends was read the next first day" - but whether by

herself or by another she does not say - "surely I felt a freewillingness in my heart to read them both, but this in plainness there was something of fearfulness also, lest anything of that vertue and life in which they were writ should be obscured, through my weakness. Very weak I am when I look out, or my heart is not fixed on the everlasting strength."[8]

Penington trusted Elizabeth not only as a respected member of the Meeting, but also because she was a close family friend. "This outward distance, this long outward imprisonment and separation from us hath lain much on my heart.....and now the removal of thy family also, thus separating our friends from us..." she wrote when the Peningtons had to move away from Chalfont later in 1666, most of which year Isaac himself spent in prison.[9] This separation did not sever the relationship; in spring 1670 Isaac wrote to thank Elizabeth for having daughter Mary junior to stay: "I am sensible of thy great love to us, expressed in thy care and tenderness of our child.....I hope she is no burden to thee".[10] In 1679, by then a widow, she was the recipient of one of the last letters Isaac wrote before he died, intended also for the Meeting which was involved in another internal difficulty.[11] She wrote supportively and more self-confidently to Isaac's wife Mary. There is a "thinking of you" letter: "Soon after I was set down in the Meeting thou camest fresh into my mind and thy great exercises and trialls were present before me, and thy bed of weakness which deprived us of thy bodily presence, and I said in my heart, Lord, why is it thus?....".[12] She is mentioned twice in Mary's will with regard to the disposal of personal items of clothing.[13]

Elizabeth regarded the Peningtons very much as her spiritual mentors, her "overseers", and also seems to have been somewhat dependent on them for emotional support. Certainly she identified strongly with their family life as a whole while there is little indication of her own family. She had a sister, through whom she came to Quakerism, whom Isaac knew and who was therefore probably a member of the Chalfont Meeting.[14] She was married to a Thomas Walmsley and seems to have lived in relatively comfortable circumstances, but as she escaped the attentions of "the eager Persecutor" we have no indication of what she had to lose. It may not be unreasonable to detect a restraining husbandly influence here: there is no evidence to suggest that Thomas was also involved with the Meeting. Elizabeth does not mention him at all in her Testimony as she does her sister, so it is unlikely that he shared her views. Neither did Penington send him any personal greetings via his letters as he did to others: on the contrary, the few times he addressed

Thomas specifically are attempts to turn him from the error of his way of thinking. In one letter Isaac says he came on purpose to see Thomas but he was out.[15] The impression is of one of those marriages not unfamiliar to Friends of a committed, active individual whose busyness about the affairs of the Meeting is tolerated by a more worldly partner, happy to let her get on with it as long as he can be "out" when Friends come to call.

From the evidence, Elizabeth emerges as an active local Friend, firmly centred in the affairs of the Meeting and the practical needs of its members while happy to leave to others the seventeenth century equivalent of: "Central Work". Given this role, the respect in which she was held and her relationship with the Peningtons emphasise just how much the achievements of our more "public" members have always depended on the pastoral care and worshipful upholding they receive from members of their local Meeting. Most of these Friends on the Bench, the engineroom of Quakerism, have no memorial. Being good Quakers they would approve of that, but it is frustrating for the Quaker historian. A few are remembered in Minute books, the odd letter, the chance reference. Elizabeth Walmsley would have remained one such name if she had not written an account of her convincement - her "Testimony" - which, presumably because it contained a glowing testimony to Penington himself, his son John copied out along with all his father's unpublished letters and papers after his death. Thus the Testimony of this unknown seventeenth century Friend on the Bench has come to rest in the fourth volume of the John Penington Manuscripts, rightfully alongside letters from such revered figures as George Fox himself.

Diana Morrison Smith

[Editor: See also Rosemary Moore, "A New Look at the Peningtons", *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 59/3 (2002), 89-202. This was her Presidential Address to the Friends Historical Society.]

TESTIMONY

All ye that know the truth and love it above all, for this I testify, its price is above all things in this world, for though my education was in sobriety and my conversation as to the outward things blameless, yet this I feel, had not the Lord reached forth the arm of his power in love to turn my mind inward and given me a sense of his everlasting truth and way of life Christ Jesus, and staid my mind therein, I had been to this present day most miserable. But the love of the Lord

hath been to me unexpressible. In my young years he tendered me and there was a fear lest I should do evil; but after many years the Lord brought me into a close exercise of spirit, as to my inward condition, and many things I felt condemnation for, and it was close on my mind, if thy heart condemn thee, God is greater, he sees all things, and I said, I shall be overcome, and one day fall, and in this distress a secret answer sprang in my heart. My grace is sufficient for thee, my strength is made perfect in thy weakness, and I do not remember that ever the temptation took hold of me again. And the Lord gave me a further sense of my condition, and I followed hard to know the truth, and that faith, which gives victory over the spirit of this world, that so I might walk in the pure way of life which the Lord would have me walk in, and it often sprang in me, what am I doing? Wither am I going? What will be the end of these troubles? I am as one alone in the wilderness & know not what way to come forth: but in the needfull time the Lord appeared, & showed me I was to wait, till the hand, which led me into the wilderness, brought me forth, & there was a cry raised in me, O my soul wait thou on the Lord, & ...Answer, he will return & appear for his own name sake & thy comfort; but I knew not that it was the voice of my beloved, yet this I felt that the most abiding peace I ever felt, was from an inward sense or touch, though then I knew not what it was, & those that I then walked with desired me to beware of such Enthusiasms but take heed of the written word. But I not knowing the voice of my beloved was sore distressed, & knew not what to do, but said in my heart, is God departed? Will he not return? O my soul wait thou for him, he will return for his names sake & thy comfort, & the Lord, in great love & tender mercy, left me not in the day of exercise & travell, but called once again, Glory to his name. And about this time truth was declared, & there came one into the steeple house & reproved our worship, & my heart was reached by what he spake, & it was great trouble to me to see him abused & I spake to them to let him alone, & said there was more in their declaration than we felt. And after some time dear Isaac Penington came hither, & though I had a love to him, yet fear did so surprise me (lest I should be deceived by the people, there being strange reports of some of them) that I was unwilling to go into the room where he was, but my sister M.E. came out & asked me to come in. Then I went in trembling, & sat down at the door, & took heed to what they spake, & I felt the answer in my heart to the truth of it, & there was a love in my heart to them (I think J. Crook was with him) & after some time I.P. send me word, that such a day they intended a Meeting at his house, if I were willing to come etc; & the Lord opened my heart & a way for me to go (I being

then weakly & not well able to travell so far on foot) & they kindly received me. There were severall friends whom the Lord, in great mercy, had reached by his eternal power & word of life in their own particulars, who declared that this word was nigh in the heart which reproves for evill etc, & the witness of God though I then knew not what to call it, then testified that I felt that near me which was my reprover. But how I should come to be delivered from all my evill thoughts & vain words, how my faith failed, for I had travelled hard & still felt condemnation for many things, & if my heart condemn me, God is greater & knows all things. Surely (said I) I am as one alone, I see not my way, though I read and hear much, I know not what I am to do: & then a cry arose in me. Lord, show me the way wherin thou wouldst have me walk, & the thing I should do, O my soul, wait thou on the Lord, but I knew not that in which I was to wait. Thus was I distressed on every side, & the enemy prevailed, & I knew not how to bear the cross, & went to the steeple-house again, but judgement followed me, & my dissatisfaction increased. This was the goodness of the Lord to my poor bewildered soul, who did not leave me in the grave of death & land of darkness. And in this time dear M. Penington wrot me a letter, & laid my concern close before me, & it entred me much, especially one sentence which was, That the Lord had a dart to strike through the liver of his Adversarys, & it lived in me, & my cry was, Lord, show me thy way, & help me to walk in it, for I have no helper but thee. And then, O then the Lord appeared, glory to his name for ever, who lighted his candle in me, & fired my habituation in that way & worship I was so hampered in, & I said, If God be God, let me follow him, but if Baal be God, then follow them: surely I shall never hear them more. And the Lord strengthened me so that I then turned from those watchmen of the night, & he manifested to me, that that life & satisfaction which I had felt amongst them was departed, darkness had entered, & the people were not profited. For now the voice of the Lord is, Come out of Egypt, travell through the wilderness, & though we meet with many besetments, look not back, look not out, beware of the entanglements of the worlds spirit & nature: for this I testify, there is an enemy lyes near which watcheth to drave out the mind from the inward teaching of the pure spirit of truth & life in the heart, therfore keep the watch in the eternall light Christ Jesus, which shows us our way, give us to make strait steps before him, who followed me with great long-suffering & forgiveness, & appeared to help me in the needfull time. O how great is his goodness! For though the people whom I walked with pursued, yet the Lord helped me, that that spirit prevailed no more, though there was a seeming tenderness in

them to me, & many discourses they had with me to draw me back again, but the Lord in love to his seed left me not in the day of triall. O the goodness of the Lord, let it never be forgotten by me, who called me in the day of the powerfull breaking forth of his glorious Light, the eternall word nigh in the heart Christ Jesus, the everlasting gospell, which hath lain hid from many generations, but now is made manifest to turn the mind inward, where that is found which we sought abroad, that so the gathering may be to the Lord & that pure faith come to be witnessed which gives the victory over the spirit of the world. This was the mistery hid & all the Teachers I followed after could not declare it to me: for they knew it not. They declared of severall sorts of faith, & some of them told me, a desire of faith was faith: but this was as dark to me as the rest, so my desires were great, that scripture lived in me, without faith it is impossible to please God, & faith is the gift of God, but I knew not that I had the gift (& how to have it they could not teach me) for indeed I knew not the power which saves, nor the birth to which it is given to believe. And some other scriptures opened in me, as that, For this cause many are sick & weak not discerning the Lords body, & here I left off breaking of bread with them, they telling me it was the body which died at Jerusalem. And again what the Oyl was, which the foolish virgins wanting were shut out, when the Bridegroom came. Thus the Lord in great mercy tendered me, even for his seeds sake, which he preserved in Egypts darkness, & nourished in the wilderness, & executes his righteous judgement on the rebellious nature, that the seed may come forth & that birth be born, which alone can serve the Lord. And this is that my soul waits for, that the Lord may be honoured his truth exalted in the hearts of those that profess to know the Lord, & our lights shine & Lamps burn, that many may come to confess & say, Surely God is in this people of a truth, we will go with you. Then shalt the gathering be to the Lord, & his power be felt & witnessed, whose right it is to rule over all forever & for evermore. Glory to the Lord who is great love visits the children of men by the arm of his power, & would not that any should perish but turn from the evil of their ways, & hath raised up many living witnesses to declare the way of salvation by Christ Jesus, the eternall light, who is come to enlighten the dark mind of man & woman, & the voice is sounded Believe in the light that you may become children of the Light. This is the invitation of the servants of the living God, who have received the power & vertue of faith in their own particulars to crucify the world & lusts therof, & therfore they testify of it to others, & the love of God constrains them so to do, & they cannot eat their morsell alone, but as they have freely received

they freely give forth, and are freely given up to spend & be spent in the service of the Lord, that truth & righteousness may spring forth in & over all.

And in this weighty work & service of the Lord his truth & people, dear Isaac Penington was called forth by the Lord, who gave him a double portion of his spirit, the Light of God shined through his earthen vessell & reached the seed of life, which lay deep in many. And through the goodness & rich mercy of the Lord I stand a living witness of it, glory to the Lord. He faithfully declared the everlasting gospell, & what he had tested, felt & handled of the eternall word of life he freely communicated to others.

And the Lord in great mercy gave him a deep sense of my state & made him as a tender father to me, in directing me to the principle of life within, I having long wandered abroad to seek the living among the dead. I cannot express what the Lord hath been to me, in great mercy, tender kindness & forgiveness; glory to the Lord, who gave him a deep sight of the way & work of the Lord in the hearts of the children of men, & also of the secret & subtle working of the enemy; for he having travelled through the great deeps & close excercises, the power of the Lord upholding him, he was enabled to speak a word in season to the weary traveller, that hungered & thirsted after the living God & a secret hope hath been raised he that hath delivered can yet deliver; so that deep answered deep, the depth of mercy reached the depth of misery, glory to the Lord. He was tender in spirit to all, not willing to hurt any tender spirit yet could not dawb with untempered mortar; for a close heart-searching ministry he had, & the prosperity of life of truth was greatly his concern, & his exhortations were to keep close to the Light, that life might have scope & all keep within the limits of life; for in this the work of the Lord would prosper, & the subtle enemy be made manifest, & that birth born which alone can serve the Lord, but cannot serve another. True & right judgement was near his habitation in the light, He was a diligent traveller in his day & time, in the work & service of the Lord that the stones might be squared & fitted for the spirituall building, & the top-stone raised, & Alleliyahs, living praises, glory & honour be given to the Lord, who is worthy of all for ever & for evermore.

And now dear Isaac Penington hath finished his travell, the work & service of his day, & having kept the faith, he is gone to rest in everlasting peace with the Lord, & a crown of glory rests on him. The memoriall of the just shall be had, in everlasting remembrance. Though he is taken hence, his life yet speaks, yea the life of truth

speaks through many, glory to the Lord. The truth of our God abides for ever.

And now my dear friends, bear with me in love, this being on my mind, to leave as a testimony for the great Goodness and unspeakable mercy of the Lord to me, who am one of the least in that Church and Family of the Living God.

Eliz. Walmsley

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 *Knowing the Mystery of Life Within: Selected Writings of Isaac Penington in their historical and theological context* edited by R. Melvin Keiser and Rosemary Moore. Manuscript transcriptions by Diana Morrison Smith (leaflet with this issue). To be published by Quaker Life. After IP's death his eldest son, John, copied out all his unpublished letters and papers into 4 volumes, known as the John Penington Mss (JP) now in Friends House Library.

2 IP published prolifically during his lifetime and was notoriously wordy. After his death George Whitehead, a weighty Friend, when asked to write a testimony wrote, "I hope I shall not need to write an apology for this man's many writings...not is it altogether proper for me to apologise in such a case, not having read all these his books"

3 See below discussion of IP's letters to his Meeting. The JP mss are full of letters of theological exposition, both to meetings and to individuals.

4 She became involved with a dissident offshoot of IP's Meeting.

5 "...had taken from her for the 8li 5sh two great feather beds (al she had) two feather bolsters, one coverlett, one bedstead, with curtains and vallans and curtain-rods, one trundle bedstead, one folding or drawing table, one cupboard. A brass-pott, a pewter-pot, a platter and a candlestick, a great spit and a great iron dripping-pan. In al to the value of fourteen pounds...." Account of the Sufferings of Friends in the County of Bucks - 1670.

6 1st in JP Vol 2, p 202; 2nd in JP Vol 1, p 89, letter 1; 3rd in JP Vol 1, p 89, letter 2. The enclosure is presumably the "Epistle to Friends in the Two Chalfonts" dated, as is the letter to EW, 20 June 1666: No. 20 in John Barclay's "Letters of Isaac Penington" pub 1828 (also included in the recently published new edition of IP's Works, vol 4).

7 JP Vol 1, p 89..

8 JP Vol 4, p 8, letter 1.
(Note: (7) and (8) are of additional interest as the only identifiable piece of cross-correspondence in the JP mss).

9 JP Vol 4, p 8, letter 2.

10 JP Vol 3, p 43.

11 24 July 1679. JP Vol 2, p 185.

12 JP Vol 4, p 180.

[13] To my daughter...the mantle that I left with Elizabeth Walmsley for her" and "I would have my daughter Penn dispose of my hoods scarves gloves...and such things to the women of our meeting, viz Elizabeth Walmsley..." (followed by names of 8 other women).
("My daughter Penn" was Gulielma, who married William Penn in 1672).

[14] Referred to in the Testimony as "M.E." In 1669 Thomas Ellwood, who was a lifelong friend of the Penington family, a member of their household and tutor to their children, married a Mary Ellis who was considerably older than himself. Could this be the same "M.E."?

[15] "...I have often felt thy state and thy souls great danger, even in the sight of God, and in the sense and demonstration which is from him, though I have not found clearness before him often either to write or speak to thee....." O friend, Lean not to thy own understanding, but pray to God to deliver thee from thy own understanding and to give thee the understanding which is of him....." JP Vol 1, p 21.

THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF JORDANS MEETING HOUSE

It is impossible to estimate the historical importance of the 1688 Jordans Meeting House without reference to the whole area in which it is situated. The Chiltern hills of southern Buckinghamshire had been a place of religious non-conformity and dissent long before the ferment of the seventeenth century out of which the Quaker movement was born. The beech trees, with which the hills were always thickly wooded, created good hiding places for those who did not wish the law to find them, and, especially for Quakers, the little part of Hertfordshire which surrounded Coleshill, and even ran as far south as the edge of the present-day New Town of Beaconsfield, provided a possible sanctuary from the Buckinghamshire magistracy. Accessibility to London was also important for the early Quakers, and is still a great asset.

Many early Quakers were associated in one way or another with the Chilterns in general, and with Jordans in particular. One thinks of course William Penn, who, with his two wives and ten children, lies among the small group of graves in a small burial ground immediately outside the meeting house and in fact pre-dating it; also Isaac and Mary Penington, and Guliema Springett, Mary's daughter by a former marriage, who was the first of William Penn's aforementioned wives. Thomas and Mary Ellwood are also buried there, at whose home Hunger Hill, on the lane to Coleshill (and therefore in Hertfordshire), were held Monthly Meetings for what was then the district of Upperside, for forty years. Thomas Ellwood came from Crowell, in Oxfordshire, and in about 1658 his father brought him as a young man to visit the Peningtons, who were living at that time at The Grange in Peter's Chalfont (nowadays Chalfont St. Peter, but so called by the early Friends because they were wary of saints). On Thomas' second visit to the Peningtons, he went with them to a Meeting at a nearby country house called The Grove, actually just in the next parish of Giles Chalfont (now Chalfont St. Giles). Both these houses still exist, though much altered. Another claim to fame of Thomas Ellwood was that, through Isaac Penington, Thomas became acquainted with John Milton, first going to read to the poet in London, when his eyesight was failing, and later finding him a cottage in the same Giles Chalfont, where Milton could escape the Great Plague in 1665.

Another early Quaker was John Bellers, 1654-1725, who was a

member of Jordans Meeting, and living in Isaac Penington's old house, The Grange, when in 1695 he wrote his *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry, with Profit for the Rich, a Plentiful Living for the Poor, and a Good Education for Youth,* which anticipate to some extent later principles of socialism. In 1818, Robert Owen reprinted this pamphlet, claiming it as a forecast of his own scheme for an industrial commonwealth, and Karl Marx called Bellers 'a veritable phenomenon in the history of political economy". Bellers started his workhouse at Clerkenwell in 1702, separating the children from the elderly before long. The children's school became a Friends' School, moving first to Croydon, and in 1879 to Saffron Walden, in Essex, where it remains to this day, the oldest Friends' School in the United Kingdom.

Another valued visitor to Jordans was the traveller, preacher and lawyer, Thomas Story, who was at the burial of his close friend, William Penn, in 1718, and he continued to visit Jordans Meeting House during the early eighteenth century.

Three early Quakers with particular connections to the pre-revolutionary American states are William Penn, John Archdale and Samuel Jennings. William Penn was the founder and first Governor of Pennsylvania, a tract of land which he received from the English King upon his father's death, because the King owed him a debt which he had no other means of repaying. William Penn was from London, but in 1672 married Guli Springett (Isaac Penington's stepdaughter) at Chorleywood, and for five years they lived at Rickmansworth. They visited Jordans and the Chalfonts often, and four of their children who died as infants are in the old burial ground. They moved to Sussex in 1677, and William was busy at that period with the "holy experiment" in government, promoting freedom of conscience and friendship between white men and the native Americans. When he returned to England after his four years in Pennsylvania, they were often at Jordans Meeting; two more children and his beloved wife Guli were buried there in the 1690s. William himself died in Berkshire in 1718, and his second wife Hannah joined him in the Jordans burial ground in 1726.

John Archdale and Samuel Jennings were both members of Upperside Monthly Meeting, which met for more than 40 years at Thomas Ellwood's house, Hunger Hill, at Coleshill. John Archdale of Wycombe became a proprietor of the Carolinas in 1680, served as Vice-Governor in 1685, and went there in 1695 to establish a constitution, to settle differences with the native Americans, to appease the different factions among the settlers, and to secure

naturalization for immigrant Huguenots. Upon his return to England, he was the first Quaker to be elected to Parliament, but because he could not swear the oath of allegiance, he could not take his seat. Quakers' rooted objection to the swearing of oaths of any kind, based on Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, made great difficulties for them in many ways, in the early days.

Samuel Jennings of Aylesbury became Governor of New Jersey in 1683, and was Speaker of the Assembly for five years from 1703. His concerns for the members of Upperside Monthly Meeting, and for its well-being, are documented in the early minutes. He was a good friend of Thomas Ellwood, and in his will (he died in 1709) he left Thomas the sum of twenty pounds to buy "a gelding or otherwise as he shall think fit". Samuel Jenning's daughter married the youngest of the Peningtons' sons, Edward, who was surveyor-general in Philadephia, and so the trans-Atlantic connection continued.

Before dissenters were allowed to build meeting houses, local Quakers gathered in various homes throughout south Buckinghamshire, and eventually a worshipping group formed at Jordans Farm, which had originally been part of the manor of Grove Place, (afterwards The Grove, as above), and was sold to Thomas Russell, who had already been farming there as a tenant, in 1618. It is interesting that many of the witnesses to the indenture of sale have family names that appear later in local Quaker records. At that time, the farmhouse was probably quite small, but in 1623 Thomas Russell's son William married the girl next door, Cicely Reading of the adjacent farm of Austins, and, probably as a result, in the next year a large kitchen was built onto the old house, and this was of a convenient size to accommodate what George Fox himself later was to describe as "a blessed large meeting". By 1669, William Russell "the younger" (ie the son of Thomas' son William) was holding a "conventicle" in the Jordans farmhouse, to which sixty or seventy people went to worship, with Isaac Penington as their "head or teacher", and here they ran foul of the 1670 Second Conventicle Act, which encouraged informers to spy on such meetings. Thomas Ellwood was instrumental in eventually countering the activities of these informers.

George Fox himself paid several visits to Jordans Farm, sometimes staying with the Peningtons, who eventually moved to Amersham; his last visit was in 1681, by which time Isaac had died, and Mary was to die the following year. When William Penn came to visit, first Jordans Farm, and later the new meeting house, to the

costs of which he contributed, he liked to stay at Stone Dean, on the opposite side of a small lane from Peter's Chalfont which comes down a steep hill to that part of the land of Jordans Farm which was first acquired for a burial ground in 1671, and then an adjacent plot with a chalk dell, probably a lime pit, which was used to build the meeting house as soon as King James II issued the Declaration of Indulgence in 1687.

Building of the meeting house was begun some ten weeks after the Declaration was promulgated, in the summer of 1688, and we are told it was finished in four months; the first meeting for worship was held there on the 30th of September. The unpretentious meeting house itself has not changed very much since that summer of 1688; the exterior is of plain Flemish-bond bricks, with five windows on the western front, and a large window in the northern wall, all leaded lozenge panes in iron casements, set in wooden frames. These windows were restored some years ago, using much of the original glass, and have survived the recent fire. The interior of the meeting-room is whitewashed, and the lower part of the walls are panelled with unpolished deal, which incorporates two long benches along the western and eastern sides of the room. A raised minister's stand was built, probably in 1733, which now partially obscures the large northern window. The red flooring bricks are laid on bare earth; they and the wall bricks probably came from a local kiln. The inside of the Meeting House is most famously represented in James Doyle Penrose's painting called "The Presence in the Midst" c.1913 showing an image of Christ in the midst of a gathered meeting of early Friends. The original oil painting hangs in Friends House and there are many treasured copies all over the world, notably at Pendle Hill in Pennsylvania.

The southern end of the original building was a caretaker's cottage, at a lower level than the meeting-room, and with a gallery above which has been used for various purposes over the centuries, and where the oldest and most precious manuscripts have been preserved. Originally there were stables at the back of the meeting house, with an attic above, extended and converted in 1867. Two rooms were constructed from the stables in 1941, for children's classes, and in 1958 a new extension, carefully designed not to show from the front of the meeting house, provided classrooms and toilets on the ground floor and a flat for the caretaker, who was now serving as warden. This whole area, behind the original meeting house, has been destroyed in the recent fire.

However, it can be seen that the Quaker connections in

Buckinghamshire encompass far more then just the old Meeting House itself - which at the time of its building was proudly named New Jordans. The older farmhouse at the top of the hill, now a guesthouse, has a barn reputed to be built from the timbers of the "Mayflower", and Jordans Village, built across the lane from the farmhouse, was started in 1919 as a social and industrial experiment, where land was to be owned communally, and craftsmen's work to be sold cooperatively. J.D. Penrose lived in Jordans Village and he and his wife are buried at Jordans.

A 1931 letter to *The Spectator* calls Jordans "a well where men come to draw waters of peace. Men of all creeds and no creeds can gather in that austere room where generation on generation of Quakers have gathered before them and taken peace into their souls." And G.K. Chesterton, who lived in nearby Beaconsfield, himself a Roman Catholic, described Jordans as "of enormous significance in the history of my country."

The Fire and the consequent damage

The fire started in the kitchen of the warden's accommodation and spread along the first floor of the rear extension and up into the roof void. The wardens' flat and the library were completely gutted. The wardens themselves were taken to the local hospital with smoke inhalation and minor burns. They were released after a couple of days to stay briefly at Old Jordans with their daughter who was on holiday from boarding school while we sorted out some temporary accommodation for them. The Meeting House itself, which is Grade I Listed, escaped relatively unscathed from the fire apart from the tiled roof and roof timbers. The majority of the ceiling is still in place, however, and most of the window glass is unbroken. The major damage to the Meeting House has been from the water that was pumped in during the considerable time that it took the fire service to put out the blaze. All the movable furniture has been removed and placed in storage and all the exhibition material, pictures, pre-1900 books and documents are being stored and restored locally, in temperature controlled conditions, at the house of John & Sue Smithson.

In the course of removal we discovered a box of original seventeenth and eighteenth century pamphlets which seem to be the residue of the Upperside Monthly Meeting Library. These have been catalogued and unique copies offered to Friends House Library for its collection.

In relation to the building the first step taken was to make the site safe. This involved taking down the chimney in the rear extension which was in constant danger of falling onto the heads of the

demolition workers. Then the Minister's Stand, the deal panelling around the walls and the Meeting House floor had to be protected from falling debris while the workmen retrieved the roof tiles, many of which had fallen in on to the upper side of the ceiling during the fire. Then all the charred wooden rafters and roof beams were removed leaving the main "A" Frame sections in place to hold the remainder of the building together. The next step will be to erect scaffolding and put a "tin hat" over the building at chimney height in order to protect the remaining fabric from the elements and to enable the inside of the Meeting House to dry out naturally. The loss adjuster accepted the fire officer's report and the insurance company has agreed to pay the insurance claim. A structural engineer and architect have been appointed and a small Meeting House Restoration Team has been set up by Jordans Monthly Meeting which is the responsible body in relation to both the ownership and maintenance of the Meeting House and the employment of the wardens. Andrew Townsend, the architect, has acted as architect/surveyor for a number of historic Quaker Meeting Houses in Britain and other listed buildings owned by Friends such as Charney Manor.

His first sketches for the restoration of the rear extension are expected by the end of May. The best estimate of the time it will take to complete the full restoration is eighteen months.

Meanwhile, Jordans Village has very kindly offered the use of the Village Hall to the Preparative Meeting until we are able to return to the Meeting House. Temporary accommodation has been found for the wardens and their daughter, again in Jordans Village. A collection made right across Jordans Monthly Meeting for the family's immediate needs, since they had lost everything in the fire, has raised more than £1800 so far.

Appeal for funds

We have decided not to mount an appeal until we know the size of the gap between the final cost of rebuilding and the insurance payout. We anticipate that there will be a gap because we wish to take advantage of the gutting of the first floor of the rear extension to put in place some alterations that we were already planning for when the fire happened. This means that we already have a small fundraising team in place and it will be their job, when the time comes, to mount the appeal on behalf of Jordans Preparative Meeting.

Sue Smithson
and Hilary Pinder

CHARLOTTE FELL SMITH, FRIEND, BIOGRAPHER AND EDITOR

In the later seventeenth century Quaker missionaries made many converts in north-east Essex, at Colchester, Felsted, Thaxted, Great Saling and elsewhere.[1] During the nineteenth century, after declining in the area for many years, Quakerism achieved a modest revival.[2] Among its local stalwarts was Joseph Smith, of Woolpits, Great Saling, farmer and landowner, J.P. and County Alderman. He married Mary, daughter of James and Charlotte Fell Christy, also Quakers, of Broomfield. Charlotte Fell Smith (1851-1937) was their daughter.[3]

Charlotte was educated at Friends' schools in Lewes (Sussex) and York.[4] The school in Lewes, which has not been identified, may have been that conducted in the town from 1855 to 1874 or later by Catherine Trusted, her sister Mary, and Rachel Speciall.[5] At York, Charlotte spent exactly one year, January to December 1866, at the well-known Mount School for girls.[6]

Charlotte never married. She was still living in the family home at Great Saling in 1904. By 1909 she had moved to 33 (later 25) Chenies Street Chambers, London, near the British Museum, between Tottenham Court Road and Gower Street. She was still there in 1918, but by 1920 had returned to Essex, living for the rest of her life at Five Corners, Felsted.[7]

The Dictionary of National Biography

Charlotte's serious writing began about 1885, drafting articles for the *Dictionary of National Biography*.[8] The *DNB*, founded in 1882 by George Smith, of Smith, Elder & Co., appeared in 63 volumes between 1885 and 1900, under the editorship of (Sir) Leslie Stephen and later of (Sir) Sidney Lee. The editors, besides writing many articles themselves, recruited 653 outside contributors, of whom 100 were 'more or less regular and voluminous contributors.' 'The contributors were subject to strict rules and to detailed scrutiny by the editors.[9] Thirty-four are listed in 1900 as having written the largest number of pages in the *Dictionary*, each equivalent in total to at least half a volume.[10] It seems surprising that Charlotte is not in this list, since she wrote 225 articles up to 1900, more than did nine of those who do appear in the list. The totals do, of course, depend on the length of the articles, and most of hers are short. But it is probably safe to say that Charlotte was among the 50 principal contributors to

the *DNB*, and it can certainly be added that her biographies are well up to the high standard of the series. Her first articles appeared in 1891, under the letter K.[11] After the completion of the original edition she contributed 20 more articles, to the *First Supplement* (1901) and the *Second Supplement* (1912), bringing her final tally to 245.

In one respect Charlotte was pre-eminent among *DNB* contributors. The editor's 'Statistical Account' states that 'numerous Quakers [have been entrusted] to Miss Fell Smith.' She actually wrote 79 articles relating to Friends, many of whom came from Quakerism's heroic age: aggressive evangelists who endured persecution and often imprisonment for proclaiming their faith. James Parnell (1637?-1656), the 'Quaker protomartyr', died in Colchester gaol. Charlotte later wrote a book about him.[12] Rebecca Travers (1609-88) was a fearless and powerful preacher in London. Several men were friends of George Fox, including Thomas Taylor (1618-82), a convert who gave up an Anglican living and suffered much for his new faith. John Perrot (d. 1671?), was imprisoned in Rome for preaching against popery, and later emigrated to the West Indies. In New England, where the Quakers were treated even more harshly than in Britain, several were executed. William Leddra (d. 1661) was the last of these. Anthony Pearson (1628-1670?), and John Pennyman (1628-1706) became Quakers in the 1650s, but apostatized after the Restoration.

Other Friends treated by Charlotte in the *DNB* include Thomas Lawson (1630-91), botanist, Anthony Purver (1707-77), translator of the Bible, Mary Roberts (1788-1864), natural historian, and William Pollard (1828-93), writer of schoolbooks and works on Quakerism. Among philanthropists are Elizabeth Hanbury (1793-1901), friend of Elizabeth Fry and opponent of slavery. Other abolitionists are William Naish (1785-1860) and Joseph Sturge (1793-1859). John Priestman (1805-66) was a cloth-manufacturer noted for his enlightened treatment of the women in his 'Lady Mills' as they came to be called. John Kendall (1726-1815) founded almshouses at Colchester.[13] Edwin Tregelles (1806-86), railway engineer, was an evangelist at home and abroad. Sir Joseph W. Pease (1828-1903), merchant and Liberal M.P., was the first Quaker baronet.

Even more numerous than the Quakers among Charlotte's subjects in the *DNB* were 110 clergy, mostly Anglican, but including a few nonconformists and Roman Catholics. The earliest was Thomas Richards (d. 1564?), prior of Totnes in Devon, and later rector of St. George, Exeter. He was said to be 'a man of good and virtuous conversation and a good viander.' Degory Nicholls (d. 1591), though 'contentious and very disorderly', became master of Magdalene

College, Cambridge and canon of Exeter. John Nicholls (1555-1584?), originally an Anglican curate, turned Roman Catholic, later recanted, but finally returned to Rome.

Samuel Pullen (1598-1667) was archbishop of Tuam, and John Richardson (1580-1654), bishop of Ardagh, both in Ireland. Among archdeacons were John Walker (d. 1588), of Essex, Josias Shute (1588-1643), of Colchester, and Thomas Plume (1630-1704) of Rochester, founder of a library at Maldon (Essex). John Norton (1606-63) instigated the persecution of Quakers in New England. Samuel Rolle (fl. 1657-78), and Sayer Rudd (d. 1757), practised as physicians. William Tathersall (1762-1829) edited psalmodies. John Owen (1766-1822) was secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. John Russell (1786-1863) was headmaster of Charterhouse and canon of Canterbury.

Among many Puritans were several ejected from their livings in 1662, like Thomas Mallory (fl. 1662), Nathaniel Ranew (1602?-1678) and Edward Reyner (1600-68). Royalists included Thomas Paske (d. 1662), master of Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was deprived of his benefices during the Civil War but recovered some of them at the Restoration. William Watts (1590?-1649) was chaplain to Prince Rupert, Thomas Pittis (1636-82) to Charles II, and Nathaniel Resbury (1643-1711) to William and Mary. Peter Sterry (d. 1672), was Cromwell's chaplain.

Henrick Niclaes (Henry Nicholas, fl. 1502-80) was founder of the mystical sect called 'The Family of Love'; Christopher Vitell (fl. 1555-79) was one of his followers.[14] Matthew Slade (1569-1628?) became an elder of the Brownist church in Amsterdam.[15] John Shaw (1559-1625) was deprived for nonconformity in 1596. Henry Whitfeld (d. 1660), once in Anglican orders, became a nonconformist and emigrated to America, where he founded Guildford, Connecticut.

Baptists include Thomas Patient (d. 1666), who served in New England and later in Ireland; William Pardoe (d. 1692), imprisoned for his faith; William Russel (d. 1702), physician; and Daniel Turner (1710-98), hymn-writer. Thomas Lord (1808-1908), Congregational minister, preached in his 101st year. Joseph Roberts, Methodist missionary in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), published Tamil translations. James Wadsworth (1572?-1623) held Anglican livings in Suffolk before converting to Rome and becoming an officer of the Spanish Inquisition.

Some 36 of Charlotte's subjects were writers, mostly scholars.[16] Robert Rothe (1550-1622), Irish barrister, left in MS a 'Register of Antiquities of Kilkenny'. Henry Swinden (1716-72) wrote the *History of Great Yarmouth* (1772). Ebenezer Rhodes (1762-1839), master cutler,

published *Peak Scenery* (1818-24). a standard work on Derbyshire. William J.C. Möens (1833-1904) was kidnapped by Italian brigands and described his experiences in a best-selling book. He later helped to found the Huguenot Society of London, for which he edited several local registers. Among orientalists was James Robertson (1714-95), professor at Edinburgh, who published a Hebrew grammar. Thomas Maude (1718-98), once a ship's surgeon, wrote poems on the Yorkshire dales and contributed to Francis Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*. Samuel Pullen (fl. 1734-1760) published several treatises on silkworms.

Fourteen women figure among Charlotte's subjects, including six who were Quakers. Mary Rich, countess of Warwick (1625-78), later appears in one of the writer's principal books. Mariana Starke (1762?-1838), was a pioneer in publishing guide books. Emilia Boucherett (1825-1905) was an early champion of women's rights. Elizabeth Blackwell (1821-1910) was the first woman doctor of medicine.

The remaining subjects, numbering about 20, range widely in date and occupation. Robert Rich, earl of Warwick (1587-1658) helped to found Connecticut, Rhode Island and other American colonies. During the Civil War he supported Parliament and became lord high admiral. In Essex he owned a great estate at Little Leighs, and became lord-lieutenant. He was father-in-law to Mary, countess of Warwick, mentioned above. His grandson, another Robert Rich, married one of Oliver Cromwell's daughters. This *DNB* article is one of Charlotte's longest.

Another staunch Parliamentarian was Isaac Penington (1587?-1660), lord mayor of London, who was one of Charles I's judges, and died in the Tower after the Restoration. John de Reede (Johan van Reede van Renswoode) (1593-1683) came to England in 1644 as a Dutch ambassador, in an attempt to mediate between Charles I and Parliament. The king is said to have made him a baron at that time, but it is doubtful if the creation was valid.[17]

Explorers include Richard Rich (fl. 1609-10), whose *Newes from Virginia* probably inspired scenes in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, and Sydney Parkinson (1745-71), a draughtsman who sailed with Captain Cook to the South Seas. [*Editor: see also* David Sox, "Sydney Parkinson (1745-1771): Quaker Artist with Cook's *Endeavour* Voyage", *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 59/3 (2002), 231-235.] Charles Western, baron Western (1767-1844), was an antiquary, Essex M.P., and agriculturalist. Joseph Nutt (1700-75), originally an apothecary, became surveyor of Leicestershire highways. James Wadsworth (1604-1656?) was a Spanish scholar and renegade spy.

Thirty-three of Charlotte's subjects had Essex connexions.[18] Among

them, besides those previously mentioned, are Matthew Newcomen (1610?-1669), church reformer, who after ejection from his living, became pastor of the English church at Leiden in Holland; and David Ogborne (d. 1801), an artist noted for his painting of the 'Dunmow Flitch' ceremony.

Some 44 per cent of the subjects were born between 1600 and 1699, 29 per cent between 1700 and 1799, 16 per cent between 1500 and 1599, and the remaining 11 per cent between 1800 and 1899. These figures show that Charlotte, while specializing in the seventeenth century, was competent in other periods. Her topographical range was also wide, with subjects residing in or visiting places not only in Great Britain and Ireland, but in Europe, North America, the West Indies, Africa, India, Ceylon, and Australasia. Particularly notable are Ireland and Holland, which figure also in some of her later writings.

Those who have written no more than a couple of articles for the *DNB*, like the present writer, can only marvel at the number of Charlotte's contributions to the series, during twenty years when she was publishing substantial work elsewhere.

The Essex Review

The Essex Review, 'a quarterly record of everything of permanent interest in the county,' was launched in 1892 by Edmund Durrant of Chelmsford, supported by several historians, including Edward A. Fitch and Miller Christy.[19] The first two volumes, for 1892 and 1893, were edited jointly by Fitch and W.H. Dalton. Fitch then carried on alone until 1898, when Charlotte, who had from the first contributed articles and notes to the *Review*, became joint editor. In 1902, soon after Edmund Durrant's death, a few subscribers formed a Limited company to buy the journal from his widow. The directors were Thomas Stevens, bishop of Barking (chairman), W. Gurney Benham, Frederic Chancellor, Miller Christy, and Edward A. Fitch. Charlotte became secretary of the company. She may well have been drawn into work for the *Review* by Miller Christy, who was her cousin.[20]

E.A. Fitch, who was a county councillor and six times mayor of Maldon, left most of the editorial work to Charlotte. When he died in 1912 she became officially sole editor, serving until her retirement at the end of 1933 (volume xlii). With a small circulation, the *Review* was often in financial difficulties. In 1914, at the outbreak of the First World War, it faced closure, but Charlotte secured sufficient pledges from subscribers to guarantee it against future losses.[21] On at least one occasion she undertook editorial chores well beyond her normal

duties. This was in 1930-1 when she assembled, as supplements to volumes 39 and 40, 'The Parish of High Easter,' based on the MSS of the late Edward Gepp.

Besides editing the *Review*, Charlotte published items in most of the volumes appearing in her lifetime.[22] Her first contribution, 'On a group of Essex divines,' concerns the authorship of a puritan pamphlet of 1641, and that of the royalist *Eikon Basilike*.[23] The last is a note on 'Felsted in Denmark.'[24] Among biographical articles are 'The Western family of Rivenhall'; 'Daniel Whittle Harvey'; and 'William Bendlowes of Great Bardfield Place.'[25] 'The press of Essex 1832-97,' is a useful up-to-date survey.[26] 'The Courtauld family and their industrial enterprise' is a pioneering study of crepe manufacture.[27] 'A history of corn-milling in Essex' is by Charlotte jointly with Wilson Marriage.[28] 'Lace-making at Great Waltham' describes the lace-club recently started by Olive Tufnell at Langleys.[29] It includes photographs taken by Charlotte's cousin, Miss C. Christy. 'Newport school and its founder' concerns the will (dated 1587) of Joyce Frankland.[30]

These articles are well written and scholarly, involving much research. The shorter articles and the many brief notes also show wide reading and acquaintance with original sources, as in 'Hovelesland in Rayne,' which quotes charters of 1329 and 1344, unnoticed by Reaney in *Place Names of Essex*.[31] Among examples of oral history is 'In harvest time,' which is based on the reminiscences of Polly Amos, wife of an Essex farm worker.[32] Brought up in the country, Charlotte appreciated the skills of farm workers, 'able to plough, to drive a team, to mow, to plant, to hedge-and-ditch, to land ditch, to saw and hew timber, set hurdles, build stacks, clean wurzel, and, most delicate of operations, to drive the drill or the binder.' Such human touches, as well as the *Review's* interest in current affairs, show that Charlotte was by no means a Dryasdust. For her biographer another welcome feature of the journal is its thorough reviewing of all her books.

The Victoria County History of Essex

The Victoria History of the Counties of England, launched in 1899 by Archibald Constable & Co. as a private company, was planned on a grand scale. Each county was to have its own history, comprising general volumes on various aspects of the whole county, and topographical volumes describing each town and parish. *VCH Essex* II (1907), a general volume, includes four contributions by Charlotte.[33] Three are brief items in the section on INDUSTRIES,

edited by Miller Christy; the fourth is the complete section on SCHOOLS.

'The manufacture of "Art" pottery' (414-15) deals with the Hedingham ware made by the Bingham family in the later nineteenth century. The account is based partly on the diary of E.W. Bingham. Charlotte followed this up some years later with an *Essex Review* article.[34]

'The silk industry' (462-9) is the joint work of Charlotte and Miller Christy. It draws upon her recent *Essex Review* article on the Courtaulds' family business.[35]

'Lace-making' (484-7) is concerned mainly with the making of tambour-lace at Coggeshall and neighbourhood from c.1815. It concludes with a paragraph on the pillow-lace school recently started at Langleys in Great Waltham, as previously described by Charlotte in *Essex Review*.[36]

SCHOOLS (501-64) contains some 42,000 words.[37] It is based on many sources, including original records at the school themselves, the Public Record Office, and the British Museum. Documents most often used at the Public Record Office were the Exchequer Certificates of Colleges and Chantries (now class E301) and the Chancery Petty Bag Charity Inquisitions (now class C205). British Museum records include Additional and Harleian MSS. The section contains histories of grammar or secondary schools (501-51) and brief details of elementary schools founded before 1800 (551-64). The oldest grammar schools were at Colchester, Chelmsford, Maldon, Saffron Walden, Walthamstow, Brentwood, and Felsted, all dating from the sixteenth century, and still flourishing.[38] Another sixteenth century foundation, Queen Elizabeth's Dedham, was successful in the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century, but closed in 1893. The most useful records of the schools themselves are accounts, which occasionally provide the most extraordinary information. At Felsted, for example, the schoolmaster's duties included the distribution of herrings in Lent to the poor of Felsted, Little Leighs, and Great Waltham. This custom continued until 1851, when an Act of Parliament provided that the Lenten doles should be given in cash, clothing, fuel or medical relief (532 note 1).

The elementary schools in the section include sixteen known to have existed in the sixteenth century, and eight from the seventeenth century.[39] Several of these had originally been, or were intended to be, grammar schools. Leyton Technical institute (561) is wrongly included among the elementary schools.

A few of the items in this sub-section relate to foundations that never actually took effect. Among them is the strange case of

Tillingham, where Gregory Baker, by his will dated 1653, left considerable estates to Grace Gaywood (presumably a relative) provided that she married a man named Baker. If she did not do so, or died without heirs, the property was to go, on the same conditions, to Grace Barrett, or after her in tail to her sisters. Failing these contingencies, the property was to provide for the building of a school in Tillingham and the master's salary. Although none of the women named did marry a Baker, no school seems to have been established, and the legacy was eventually used to build almshouses in the village.

An authoritative reviewer of this volume rightly describes SCHOOLS as 'a most exhaustive account, enriched with details of many forgotten founders, and [which] must prove extremely valuable.'[40] Before 1907 comparatively little had been written on the history of Essex schools, so this is a notable pioneering study. Charlotte's only previous publication on the subject had been an article on the foundation of Newport grammar school.[41] In her *VCH* article she had some help from Arthur F. Leach, the editor responsible for Schools throughout the whole series. How much this amounted to is uncertain. The Editorial Note to *Essex* II mentions Leach's 'careful revision' of the Schools article. Charlotte herself acknowledges his help with several schools, especially Saffron Walden grammar school (518 note 3).

This article has stood up well to a century of use. Some 30 corrigenda are recorded in the lists published in later *VCH* volumes.[42] About a dozen of these relate to serious errors, usually of dating. Other corrections, and fuller accounts, appear in such works as R.R. Lewis, *History of Brentwood School* (1981), Michael Craze, *Felsted School* (1965), and W.J. Petchey, *Maldon Grammar School* (1958).[43] Many schools founded since 1907 now have histories, as do some pre- 1907 schools. But within its own terms of reference, Charlotte's article is still valuable.

Separate Books[44]

STEVEN CRISP AND HIS CORRESPONDENTS, 1657-1692 was published in 1892, when Charlotte was already working for the *DNB*. Steven Crisp (1628-92) was a wealthy bay-maker at Colchester. Having been converted by the preaching of James Parnell, he became a leading Quaker, devoting most of his life to evangelism throughout England and also on the Continent, particularly in Holland. He corresponded with other prominent Quakers and with the learned and pious Elizabeth, Princess of the Palatine, grand-daughter of

James I of England, and aunt of George I. She was abbess of the Lutheran convent of Herford, near Hanover in Germany, where she sheltered many religious dissenters, including Quakers.

Crisp's voluminous letters and papers were acquired by Colchester Monthly meeting of the Society of Friends. This book is a carefully annotated edition, with an introduction describing the Quaker movement and the lives of Crisp and his friends. It also contains a list of the 'Distraints and Imprisonments' of Essex Quakers, 1656-70, a copy of Crisp's will, and details of his papers at Devonshire House in London. The excellent index ranges from Amsterdam, Connecticut and Glasgow, to Ulster, Warsaw, and Zurich. It is especially rich in Essex place-names, listing over 30. Among personalities are such leading Quakers as George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, John and Benjamin Furly.

In the Preface Charlotte notes that Steven Crisp's papers have recently been cleaned, mended and rebound through the generosity of Wilson Marriage, mayor of Colchester, whose knowledge of Colchester history has also helped her.[45] She thanks her cousin Miller Christy for valuable suggestions while the book was in the press, and J.J. Beuzmacher for help with the Dutch MSS.

Steven Crisp received a somewhat patronizing, unsigned review from a writer who was evidently not a Quaker nor in sympathy with 'this now somewhat-effete body.'[46] He commends the book as 'of high value and interest' to our knowledge of the early Quakers (general and local) and thinks that its best feature is the Introduction. But he considers the synopsis of Crisp's MSS is 'not very interesting.' He congratulates Charlotte 'on the literary ability displayed in her work.'

MARY RICH, COUNTESS OF WARWICK (1625-78), HER FAMILY AND FRIENDS (1901) is a substantial and valuable book.[47] Charlotte had already written a brief life of Lady Warwick for *DNB*. Mary was the thirteenth child of Richard Boyle (1566-1643), who built up a great estate at Youghal, near Cork in Ireland. He had married well, increased his fortune by copper mining and banking, and became first earl of Cork. Mary's childhood was spent at Youghal and at Stalbridge in Dorset, another of her father's manors. At the age of 15, in spite of her father's disapproval, she married Charles Rich, a younger son of the earl of Warwick. The earl was lord of Little Leighs Priory in Essex ('delicious Leez').

At the time of his marriage Charles had few expectations, but in 1659 after the deaths of his father and brother, he succeeded to the Warwick earldom. Mary spent her married life mainly at Leez, a

Tudor mansion on the site of an Augustinian priory, with occasional visits to Warwick House in London. She left a Diary and a Autobiography, which depict her family life and her friends, especially those in Essex. She was deeply and increasingly religious, with Puritan sympathies, employing domestic chaplains and entertaining many clergy at Leez, including some ejected from their livings for nonconformity. She was much concerned for her many relatives, and took care of three young nieces on their father's death.

An unsigned review of *Mary Rich* finds it 'one of the best of its kind recently published, and a really valuable addition to our knowledge of the social and domestic history of the time.'[48] The book has many pleasant illustrations, and an excellent index. There is no bibliography, but most of the sources can be traced in the text or the occasional footnotes. They include, beside Mary Rich's writings, the *Lismore papers* relating to the earl of Cork, which had recently been edited by Alexander B. Grossart. [49] In the Preface, Charlotte expresses gratitude 'to the memory' of Grossart 'for his useful hints and suggestions in the earlier stages of the book.' He had been a Presbyterian Doctor of Divinity. Like Charlotte he had contributed to *DNB*, but he had caused Leslie Stephen great difficulty and embarrassment by breaching the copyright of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in one article, and by sending him abusive letters.[50] There is no evidence that Charlotte knew this.

Charlotte also thanks 'my friends Mr Miller Christy and Thomas Seccombe, as well as Mr E. Irving Carlyle' for 'invaluable assistance in correcting the proofs, and for much excellent and learned advice throughout.' Seccombe and Carlyle had both been assistant editors of *DNB*. Seccombe (1866-1923) had been educated in Essex, at Felsted.[51] He and Carlyle (1871-1952) both went on to academic posts after the completion of *DNB*.[52]

JAMES PARNELL (1906, 2nd edn. 1907) is a little book marking the 250th anniversary of the death of the first Quaker martyr. Parnell (1637-56) had already figured in an article by Charlotte in *DNB* and in her *Steven Crisp*.[53] Born at Retford (Notts), he began to proclaim his faith after visiting George Fox in prison at Carlisle. In 1655 he arrived in Essex, visiting Stebbing, Halstead, Witham, Colchester, and then Coggeshall, where he was arrested for preaching. After trial at Chelmsford assizes he was imprisoned in the county gaol in Colchester castle. There he was cruelly treated in appalling conditions, and after nine months wasted away and died.

An Introduction to *James Parnell* is contributed by Wilson Marriage, who had previously helped Charlotte with *Steven Crisp*. Marriage

(c.1842-1932), a Colchester miller and four times mayor of the borough, was himself a Quaker.[54]

Besides being a powerful preacher, Parnell wrote pugnacious and popular tracts with such titles as 'The trumpet of the Lord blown' and 'Goliath's head cut off.' The final chapter of the book deals with the later history of 'The Friends in Essex,' mainly in the later seventeenth century.

A review of *James Parnell* mentions a 250th anniversary rally of Friends held at Colchester castle in June 1906, and addressed by Thomas Hodgkin, historian and active Quaker.[55]

MEMORIALS OF OLD ESSEX (1908) is a symposium by 12 writers under the editorship of A. Clifton Kelway, rector of Corringham.[56] It was a part of a series called *Memorials of the Counties of England*.[57] This aimed 'to gather together the principal episodes of a county's history and afford prominence to some of its outstanding characteristics and features.'

The most notable article in the book is 'The Monumental Brasses of Essex', by Miller Christy, W.W. Porteous and E. Bertram Smith. Among other contributors are the editor and Guy Maynard, each with two articles. Charlotte also wrote two: 'Historic Houses' (184-208) and 'Essex Worthies' (226-46). Both are useful surveys, in a readable, breezy style. The houses in the first article are mostly well-chosen, although excessive space is devoted to one or two buildings about which little is known, for example Pleshey Castle; and legend is sometimes quoted as fact, as with Edward the Confessor at Havering.[58] There are three photographs of great mansions: Audley End, Layer Marney Hall, and Spains Hall. A fourth illustrates some of the window-glass roundels at Colville Hall, White Roding, which represent rural occupations in each month of the year. These had previously been described and depicted by Miller Christy.[59]

'Essex Worthies' is somewhat lacking in balance and scope. More than half of its twenty pages are devoted to the naturalist John Ray (1627-1705) and the poet Francis Quarles (1592-1644). There is no mention of such towering figures as Hubert de Burgh, chief justiciar and earl of Kent (d. 1243), Robert Fitzwalter (d. 1235), Baronial leader, William Byrd (d. 1623), musician, Thomas Fuller (d. 1661), historian, nor Elizabeth Fry (d. 1845) prison reformer. William Harvey (d. 1657), who discovered the circulation of the blood, finds only a passing (and incorrect) reference in a paragraph devoted to Dick Turpin (d. 1739) the highwayman.[60]

A review of *Memorials of Old Essex* praises 'Historic Houses', but is less complimentary about 'Essex Worthies.'[61]

JOHN DEE (1909) is an impressive revisionist study. Charlotte claims that 'no learned author in history ... has been so persistently misjudged,' and re-examines him 'in the light of reason and science' (p. 1). She challenges previous writers who have dismissed Dee as fraudulent or even insane because of his experiments with occultism, without crediting him with considerable achievements as scientist, geographer and adviser to Elizabeth I.

John Dee (1527-1608), a Welshman by descent, was born in London, where his father Rowland was a gentleman server to Henry VIII. At an early age he was sent to the chantry grammar school at Chelmsford kept by Peter Wyleigh.[62] After a brilliant career at St. John's College, Cambridge, and while still under twenty, he became one of the original fellows of Trinity College, Henry VIII's new foundation, and reader in Greek. Turning to mathematics, geography, astrology and geology, he spent two years at Louvain university in Belgium. Travelling next to Paris, he delivered a successful course of public lectures on mathematics, physics, and Pythagorean philosophy. This, he claimed, had never before been done in any Christian university.

By the time Dee returned to England in 1551 he could number among his friends many of the leading scholars of the day. He also found favour in the royal court, and after dedicating two books to Edward VI, was granted an annual pension. When Mary became queen in 1553, Dee was invited to cast her horoscope, and he did the same for princess Elizabeth. But his fame was beginning to attract enemies. In 1555 he was arrested on the complaint of a man who alleged that Dee's 'magic' had blinded one of his children, killed another, and was threatening the queen's life. Dee was eventually acquitted of treason, but was then delivered to the bishop of London, Edmund Bonner, for examination on his religious beliefs. He must have satisfied Bonner, for later in the year the bishop seems to have employed him to question John Philpot, who soon after was burnt as a heretic.[63]

Elizabeth I employed Dee throughout her reign as a consultant astrologer, gave him occasional doles, and at last, in 1596, granted him the wardenship of Christ's College, Manchester. Although the college brought with it serious problems, and less profit than expected, Dee could at least depend on the queen's protection while she lived. But his situation changed with the accession of James I, whose first Parliament passed a stringent Act against witchcraft. This terrified Dee, who sent frantic petitions to the king in an attempt to clear his name.

Much of this book is devoted to Dee's experiments with occultism,

including clairvoyance, clairaudience, and alchemy. In these topics, described in Dee's diaries, Charlotte finds 'passages of extraordinary beauty' and 'here and there a gem of loftiest religious thought.' She points out that psychical research similar to Dee's has been in progress in this country since the mid nineteenth century, and she lists some of its literature in her bibliography. She discusses at length Dee's close association in such research with the fraudulent Edward Kelley, which distracted him from more useful work.

Dee's patriotism appears in his concern for the supremacy of the English navy, and his plan for the formulation of a national library. He was a pioneer in the reformation of the calendar. His cartographical studies, his links with navigators such as Frobisher and Hawkins, and his interest in the north-east passage to 'Cathay' (China), are mentioned, but receive much less attention than his 'magic'. It would, however, be unfair to blame Charlotte too harshly for this, since Dee's importance as a geographer was not fully revealed until 1930, when professor Eva G.R. Taylor published *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583.*[64] John Dee is a central figure in that book, which devotes three of its eight chapters to him, and lists his geographical works in an Appendix. The terminal date of 1583 was chosen because it was the year when Dee 'the man behind the scenes of overseas enterprise' abandoned his geographical activities after meeting Kelley. Eva Taylor states emphatically that 'a close examination of the evidence leaves no doubt of [Dee's] intellectual honesty and genuine patriotism.' That was certainly Charlotte's view.

John Dee was written at the suggestion of professor Silvanus P. Thompson, a distinguished scientist, and like Charlotte, a Quaker.[65] It received a long, learned and complimentary review by Charles E. Benham, editor of the *Essex County Standard*, who shared with Charlotte and Eva Taylor the view that John Dee was 'an earnest seeker after truth.'[66] Charlotte's book is still the fullest biography of John Dee.[67]

AN ANTHOLOGY OF ESSEX (1911), is edited by Charlotte 'with additions and a Biographical Index'. She was persuaded to undertake it by her 'untiring friend' Henry W. Lewer, who also arranged that it should be based on material collected by Isabel and Beatrice Gould, from the library of their late uncle, Isaac Chalkley Gould.[68] Charlotte may have been anxious that her work as editor should receive proper recognition, for a publicity leaflet and the title-page of the book both print her name in larger type than those of the Goulds. *The Essex Review*, in her obituary, lists the *Anthology* among her publications,

without mentioning the Goulds, but in a later issue prints a Correction saying that the book was 'wrongly attributed' to Charlotte, and was compiled by Isabel and Mary Gould.[69] This incident suggests that the Goulds felt that they had received insufficient credit for their part in the book.

This is a pleasant and well-knit book that deserves to be better known. There are ten subject headings with titles such as 'Love for our County', 'Our farms, villages and flora', 'Our forest', 'Our poets on love, friendship, and the virtues', and 'Ballads, songs and rhymes.' The Biographical Index contains some 150 names, mostly of authors, but also of persons mentioned in the text. Some of the extracts do not relate specifically to Essex, having been chosen because their writers had connexions with the county, like Sydney Smith, whose epigrams are quoted.[70] But there are many topographical items. Among the earliest is William Harrison's account of the elms of Dovercourt, from his *Description of England* (1587).[71] Arthur Young, in his *Tour through the Southern Counties* (1757) mentions the chalk wagons on the narrow and rutted road between Billericay and Tilbury.[72] William Morris recalls from childhood the rural scene at Walthamstow, and the hornbeams in Epping forest.[73] Anthony Trollope gives a light-hearted account of his experiences with the Essex Hunt.[74] Charles Haddon Spurgeon depicts the grass walk at Stambourne parsonage, along which his grandfather used to pace when preparing his sermons. This walk, said a local farmer 'ud grow a many taters if it wor plowed up.'[75] Arthur Morrison writes of Cunning Murrell, the Essex wizard.[76]

The *Anthology* includes items by (Sir) Gurney Benham, Miller Christy, and Edward A Fitch, all friends of the editor. There are four contributions by Charlotte herself. The most appealing is 'The Farm Labourer.'[77]

An unsigned reviewer of the *Anthology* prefers the literary items to those of 'the mere topographer,' and suggests several authors who might have been included, but thinks that the book is 'a worthy memorial of past greatness [and] a reminder of modern development and possibilities.'

JAMES NICHOLSON RICHARDSON OF BESSBROOK (1925), the subject of this book, was an Irish manufacturer, Member of Parliament, and devout Quaker.[78] His family was engaged in the Ulster linen business for 150 years. John G. Richardson, James's father, built a model village for his workers at Bessbrook, near Newry (co. Armagh). This was developed by James himself, as chairman of the company, and influenced labour reformers at home and abroad.

James Richardson represented Armagh County as a Liberal during

Gladstone's second government, 1880-85, but he never sought re-election.[79] *Who was Who* describes him as having been a Liberal Unionist M.P. That is technically an anachronism , but it seems to indicate his position after 1885. He later sold 5,000 acres to tenants under the Irish Land Purchase Act, 1903, sponsored by George Wyndham in Balfour's Conservative government.[80]

James Nicholson Richardson is reviewed by Guy J. Hornsby-Wright, then a master at Felsted School, and later fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.[81] He analyses the book clearly and sympathetically, noting Richardson's visit to Palestine, recorded in a diary which is 'the most interesting part of the book full of observation, fun, and literary instinct.' Richardson wrote books and poems, and painted in water colours. Above all, he was a strong man, 'whose life was ruled by God.'

Miscellaneous Papers

A few items are listed below in the Bibliography, which also names some of the periodicals to which Charlotte is known to have contributed.

Summary and Conclusions

Little is known of Charlotte Fell Smith's personal life. She joined the Essex Archaeological Society in 1899, on the nomination of the honorary secretary, George F. Beaumont, who as a Braintree solicitor would have known her family.[82] She never contributed to the EAS *Transactions*, nor served on Council. But she gave the Society a number of books and documents, transcribed a register for its 'Index of Marriages', and prepared the General Index to the first ten volumes of the *Transactions* (1858-95), published in 1900.[83]

Charlotte was always a loyal Quaker. For most of her life, while living in Essex, she belonged to Thaxted Monthly Meeting. During her London years she was a member of Westminster and Longford Monthly Meeting.[84] On various occasions, between 1906 and 1915, she worked on Quaker records in the library of Friends House, Euston Road. Her transcriptions of the A.R. Barclay MSS are in the library.[85]

Charlotte gained a place in *Who's Who*, where she figures as editor of *Essex Review* and gives her recreations as 'reading and travel.'[86] In retirement, aged eighty-four, she made an extensive tour of the Mediterranean and Greece.[87] Her photograph, taken in later life, shows a strong face with a direct, challenging look.[88] She was a fine editor and a good writer, with great determination and stamina.

While serious minded, she was not lacking in imagination. In writing *John Dee*, for example, she offers:

> a word of apology to serious historical readers for the incorrigibly romantic tendency of much of the narrative, which, in spite of the stern sentinel of a literary conscience, would continually assert itself.[89]

W. Raymond Powell

Acknowledgements

This paper has been made possible by the kindness of several people. I am grateful to Howard Gregg for including it in the *Journa*l. David Leonard, honorary archivist of the Mount School, York, and Heather Rowland, librarian of Friends House, have provided information from the records in their charge. Heather also arranged for the loan of one of Charlotte Fell Smith's books. The list of Charlotte's contributions to the *DNB*, here published for the first time, was supplied by Debbie Simpson of the *New DNB*. Helen Coghill typed the article with her usual skill and patience. My wife Avril has read the text in draft and in proof. As always I am indebted to her for support and encouragement as well as her editorial experience. This paper was written before the publication of Rosemary Mitchell's article on CFS in *Oxford DNB*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

For abbreviations see below under Bibliography.

1 C. Fell Smith, *James Parnell* (1907), 91-107; and her *Steven Crisp and his correspondents* (1892), *passim*.

2 As at Colchester: *VCH Essex*, X. 343.

3 *Who was Who*, iii (1929-40), 437 (Charlotte Fell Smith). In this paper she is sometimes cited as CFS.

4 Ibid.; obit, in *ER* xlvi (1937), 135.

5 Inf. supplied by the Librarian, Friends House, London, from advertisements in *The Friend* journal

6 *Register of Old Scholars of the Mount School*, 1931-2; inf. From the Archivist, Mount School, and the Librarian, Friends House, London.

7 For her addresses: *ER* vii (1898) and later vols.

8 For a Bibliography of CFS's publications see below.

9 *DNB* vol. 63, preface, Statistical Account: reprinted as Appendix to microprint edn. Vol. 2 (1975); F.W. Maitland, *Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (1906), 365-404; 454-7.

10 Statistical Account, as above.

11 Kendal, Jn. (1726-1815); Kilham, Hannah (1774-1832); Knowles, Mary (1733-1807).

12 See below.
13 Cf. *VCH Essex* IX, 368.
14 For the 'Family of Love': J.R.H. Moorman, *Hist. Church in England*, 247.
15 For the Brownists: ibid. 211.
16 The total figures for the different classes of occupation, quoted here and in the following paragraphs, are rough estimates only, since a particular person may be difficult to classify, or may fall into more than one class. And they do not include the occupations of Quakers.
17 Cf. *Complete Peerage* x (1945), 763.
18 Cf. *VCH Essex Bibliography* (1959), which lists them, though without the author's name. That list omits Thomas Pakeman (*c.* 1614-91), a dissenting minister at Stratford in West Ham, for whom see *VCH Essex* VI. 128.
19 'The Essex Review, our origin and progress,' in *ER* xvi (1908), 36-7; 'Our fiftieth volume,' ER 1 (1941), 1-3.
20 C. Fell Smith, *Steven Crisp and his correspondents* (1892), Preface: ref. to Miller Christy as CFS's cousin.
21 ER xxiii. 221. In 1913 CFS was already urging greater support for ER, which had never yet reached 500 subscribers, and complaining of the lack of interest in it shown by Essex newspapers: ibid.xxii. 1.
22 See below, Bibliography.
23 *ER* i (1892), 107-11.
24 *ER* xlv (1936), 61.
25 *ER* x (1901), 1-22, 65-80; xxiv (1915), 24-30, 63-70, 132-8; xxvii (1918), 113-22.
26 *ER* vi (1897), 149-65.
27 *ER* xii (1903), 17-29.
28 *ER* xvi (1907), 184-95. For Marriage, Colchester miller, mayor and Quaker: *ER* xli (1932), 211-12.
29 *ER* xiv (1905), 208-13.
30 *ER* xv (1906), 73-82.
31 *ER* xiv (1905), 191-2.
32 *ER* xii (1903), 242-8. Reprinted from *The Land Magazine*, Aug. 1898 (no. 5).
33 See below, Bibliography; and W.R. Powell, 'The Victoria County History of Essex,' *Essex Journal*, 38 (2003), 43.
34 *ER* xxxvii (1928), 113-117.
35 *ER* xii (1903), 17-29.
36 *ER* xiv (1905), 208-13: and see above.
37 See below, Bibliography.
38 At Colchester, Maldon and Saffron Walden there is also evidence of medieval schools.
39 See below, Bibliography.
40 *ER* xvi (1907), 105.
41 *ER* xv (1906), 73-82.
42 *VCH Essex* III, VI, X, and *Bibliography Supplement*.
43 See also, e.g. *VCH Essex* IX, 353: Colchester Royal Grammar school.
44 See below, Bibliography.
45 For Wilson Marriage see also below s.v. JAMES PARNELL.
46 *ER* i (1892), 247-9. The reviewer may well have been the editor, E.A. Fitch.

47 See below, Bibliography.
48 *ER* xi (1901), 49-54.
49 A.B. Grossart, *Lismore Papers*, 10 vols. 1886-8. See *Bibliog. British History, 1603-1714*. 2nd edn. (1970), no. 4206.
50 Noel Annan, *Leslie Stephen* (1984), 85.
51 See *DNB; Who was Who*.
52 *Who was Who*.
53 See below, Bibliography
54 *ER* xli (1932), 211-2 (obit.).
55 *ER* xv (1906), 162-3. For Thomas Hodgkin (1813-1913) see *DNB*.
56 See below, Bibliography.
57 The general editor of the series was Peter H. Ditchfield (1854-1930), for whom see *Who was Who*. He was a prolific topographer who also edited *VCH Berkshire*.
58 For the Havering legends: *VCH Essex*. VII. 9.
59 *ER* xii (1903), 137-42.
60 William Harvey was buried at Hempstead, and not, as CFS states, born there.
61 ER xviii (1909), 61-2. For Essex worthies see *VCH Essex Bibliography* and its *First and Second Supplements*.
62 For this school: J.H. Johnson, *Chelmsford Grammar School* (1946, repr. From *ER* liv (1945) and lv (1946), which expands CFS's account in *VCH Essex* II.
63 For John Philpot (1516-55): *DNB*.
64 For Eva G.R. Taylor (1879-1966): *DNB*.
65 For Silvanus P. Thompson (1851-1916): *DNB*.
66 *ER* xviii (1909), 209-15. For C.E. Benham (1860-1929): *ER* xxxviii (1929), 94 (obit.).
67 Cf. *Bibliog. British Hist. 1485-1603*, ed. Conyers Read, no. 3974.
68 H.W. Lewer (1859-1949): Obit. *EAT* ns.xxv (1955-60), 120. I Chalkley Gould (1845-1907): Obit. *EAT* ns x (1909), 260. Both were prominent Essex antiquaries.
69 *ER* xlvi (1937), 134, 222.
70 For Sydney Smith (1771-1845): *DNB* and *ER* vi (1897), 137. He was born at Woodford.
71 For William Harrison (1534-93), rector of Radwinter: *DNB*.
72 For Arthur Young (1741-1820): *DNB*; *ER* lviii (1949), 144.
73 For William Morris (1834-96) writer and craftsman: *DNB*; E.P. Thompson, *William Morris* (1955, rev. 1977).
74 For Anthony Trollope (1815-82), novelist and Post Office official: *DNB*. For his Essex connexion: *ER* vi (1897), 232; xxxviii (1929), 185.
75 For Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-92), Baptist preacher: *DNB*.
76 For Arthur Morrison (1863-1945), novelist: *Oxford Chronology of English Literature* (2002), ii. 130.
77 See above under *ER* and reference 32.
78 For James N. Richardson (1846-1921) see also *Who was Who*. [Editor: see also W. Ross Chapman. "James Nicholson Richardson, 1846-1921", *Journal of the Friends Historical Society 58/1* (1997), 59-77.]
79 Cf. McCalmont's *Parliamentary Poll Book ... 1832-1918*, p. 7.
80 For this Act: R.C.K. Ensor, *England* 1870-1914, 358.

81 *ER* xxxv (1926), 52-6. For G.J. Hornsby-Wright (1872-1914): *Who was Who.*

82 *EAT* ns vii (1900), 347.

83 *EAT* ns xviii (1928), 166; xix (1930), 366; xx (1933), 146; xxi (1937), 186. I am grateful to Michael Leach for drawing my attention to CFS's preparation of the General Index to the *Transactions.*

84 Inf. from records of: Essex and Suffolk Quarterly Meeting, 1870-91 and 1921-37; London and Middlesex General Meeting, 1908-19. These references were kindly provided by Heather Rowland, librarian of Friends House, London.

85 Inf. from Heather Rowland, librarian of Friends House.

86 *Who was Who*, iii. 437.

87 *ER* xlvi (1937), 135.

88 Ibid. 134.

89 *John Dee*, 5.

A Bibliography of the Publications of Charlotte Fell Smith

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

Charlotte Fell Smith published 245 articles in the *DNB*. Of these 225 appeared between 1891 and 1900 in the original edition, and the remainder in the *First Supplement* (1901) and the *Second* (1912). Seventy-nine articles relate to Quakers, shown by a marginal asterisk *. Quakers described as < Evangelists > were especially active in proclaiming their faith. One hundred and ten articles relate to Anglican, Nonconformist or Roman Catholic clergy, shown by an obelisk †. Thirty-six were antiquaries, scholars, poets and other writers. Fourteen were women. Thirty-three had connexions with Essex, Charlotte's own county, marked Ⓔ.

This list has been kindly provided by the staff of the *New DNB*. Dates have been checked against the latest edition of the old *Concise DNB*.

The following abbreviations should be noted: Alex., Alexander; Ant., Anthony; Ben., Benjamin; Chas., Charles; Chris., Christopher; Dan., Daniel; *DNB., Dictionary of National Biography*; Edw., Edward; Eliz., Elizabeth; *ER., Essex Review*; Fran., Francis; Fred., Frederick; Geo., George; Gil., Gilbert; Hen., Henry; Hum., Humphr(e)y; Jas., James; Jn., John; Jos., Joseph; Josh., Joshua; Mat., Matthew; Nat., Nathaniel; Ric., Richard; Rob., Robert; Sam., Samuel; Thos., Thomas; *VCH., Victoria County History*; Wal., Walter; Wm., William.

† BARTON JN. (1836-1908). India missionary.
* BELLOWS JN. T. (1831-1902). Printer, archaeologist.
BLACKBURN, HELEN (1842-1903). Pioneer, women's suffrage.
BLACKWELL, ELIZ. (1821-1910). First woman M.D.
BOUCHERETT, EMILIA J. (1825-1905). Advocate, women's progress.
† BROWN, HIUGH S. (1823-86). Baptist minister.
† BURNS, DAWSON (1828-1909). Baptist temperance reformer.

* HANBURY, ELIZ. (1793-1901). Philanthropist.
HOPKINS, JANE E. (1836-1904). Social Reformer.
HORNIMAN, FRED. J. (1835-1906). Founder, Horniman museum.

† JENKINS, EBENEZER (1820-1905). Wesleyan India missionary.

* KENDALL, JN. (1726-1815). Philanthropist; Colchester. Ⓔ
* KILHAM, HANNAH (1774-1832). West Africa missionary.
† KNIBB, WM. (1803-45). Baptist West Indies missionary.
* KNOWLES, MARY (1733-1807). Writer, friend of Dr Johnson.

* LATEY, GIL. (1626-1725). Evangelist.
* LAWSON, THOS. (1630-91). Botanist.
LEAD, JANE (1624-1704). Mystic.
LEATHAM, WM. H. (1815-89). Poet and M.P.
* LEDDRA, WM. (d. 1661). Martyr in Boston (U.S.A.)
* LETCHWORTH, THOS. (1738-84). Writer; Waltham H.C. and Epping. Ⓔ
† LORD, THOS. (1808-1908). Congregationalist.

† MACGOWAN, JN. (1726-80). Baptist.
† MALLORY, THOS. (fl. 1662). Ejected minster.
† MALLORY, (or MALLORIE), THOS. (1605?-1666). Royalist.
MANNING, ANNE (1807-79). Writer.
† MANTON, THOS. (1620-77). Presbyterian.
* MARSHALL, CHAS. (1637-98). Medical practitioner.
† MARSHALL, WAL. (1628-80). Presbyterian.
† MARTIN, JN. (1619-93). Nonjuror.
* MARTIN, JOSIAH (1638-1747). Classical scholar.
* MASON, MARTIN (fl. 1650-76). Evangelist.
* MATHER, WM. (fl. 1695). Writer.
† MATON, ROB. (1607-53). Millenary.
† MATTHEWS, LEMUEL (fl. 1661-1705). Irish archdeacon.
MAUDE, THOS. (1718-98). Poet and essayist.
MAXWELL, JAS. (fl. 1600-40). Author.
† MAYNARD, JN. (1600-65). Puritan.
* MEAD, WM. (1628-1713). Evangelist; Hornchurch. Ⓔ
* MEIDEL, CHRIS. (fl. 1687-1708). Evangelist; West Ham. Ⓔ
* MIDDLETON, JOSH. (1647-1721). Minister.
† MILWARD, JN. (1556-1609). Nonconformist.
MÖENS, WM. J.C. (1833-1904). Huguenot antiquary; ed. registers of Dutch church, Colchester. Ⓔ
MORE, ROB. (1671-1727?). Writing master.
† MOREHEAD, WM. (1637-92). Nephew of Gen. Monck.
† MORGAN, HECTOR D. (1785-1850). Theologian; Castle Hedingham. Ⓔ
* MUCKLOW, WM. (1631-1713). Controversialist.
MURRAY, LINDLEY (1745-1826). Grammarian.

* NAISH, WM. (1785-1860). Opponent of slavery.
* NEALE, SAM. (1729-92). Minister.
† NEWCOMEN, MAT. (1610?-69). Ejected minister; Colchester and Dedham. Ⓔ

† NEWLIN, THOS. (1688-1743). Scholar.
† NEWTON, BEN. (1677-1735). Writer.
NEWTON, WM. (1750-1830). 'The Peak Minstrel.'
NICHOLAS, HEN. See NICLAES.
NICHOLAS, THOS. (fl. 1560-96). Translator.
† NICHOLLS, DEGORY (d. 1591). Canon of Exeter.
† NICHOLLS. JN. (1555-84?). Controversialist.
NICKOLLS, JN. (1710?-45). Antiquary.
† NICLAES, HENRICK (or NICHOLAS, HEN.) (fl. 1502-80). Founder of 'Family of Love.'
* NORTON, HUM. (fl. 1655-9). Evangelist.
† NORTON, JN. (1606-63). Persecutor of Quakers.
NUTT, JOS. (1700-75). Highway surveyor.
NYNDGE, ALEX. (fl. 1573). Demoniac.

OGBORNE, DAVID (d. 1801). Painter who depicted Dunmow flitch of bacon ceremony. Ⓔ
† OLDISWORTH, GILES (1619-78). Royalist writer.
† OLYFFE, JN. (1647-1717). Opponent of Nonconformity.
* OSBORN, ELIAS (1643-1720). Evangelist.
† O'SULLIVAN, MORTIMER (1791?-1859). Irish Protestant.
† OUSELEY, GIDEON (1762-1839). Irish Methodist.
* OVERTON, CONSTANTINE (d. 1687). Evangelist.
OWEN, GRIFFITH (d. 1717). Emigrant to Pennsylvania (U.S.A.)
OWEN, JN. (1766-1822). Sec. Brit. & For. Bible Soc.; Paglesham Ⓔ
* OXLEY, JOS. (1715-75). Traveller in N. America.

† PAKEMAN, THOS. (1614?-91). Dissenter; West Ham. Ⓔ
† PARDOE, WM. (d. 1692). Baptist.
* PARK (or PARKES), JAS. (1636-96). Evangelist.
* PARKER, ALEX. (1628-89). Friend of Geo. Fox.
† PARKHURST, NAT. (1643-1707). Religious writer.
PARKINSON, SYDNEY (1745-1771). Draughtsman with Capt. Cook.
* PARNELL, JAS. (1637?-1656). 'Quaker protomartyr': died in Colchester gaol. Ⓔ
† PARRY, JOSH. (1719-76). Presbyterian.
† PARRY, RIC. (1722-80). Theologian.
† PASKE, THOS. (d. 1662). Royalist.
† PATIENT (or PATIENCE). THOS. (d. 1666). Baptist.
* PEARSON, ANT. (1628-1690?). Quaker apostate.
* PEASE, EDW. (1767-1858). Railway pioneer [CFS with A F Pollard].
* PEASE, SIR JOS. W. (1828-1903). M.P.; first Quaker baronet.
PENINGTON, ISAAC (1587?-1660). Lord Mayor of London.
* PENINGTON, ISAAC (1616-79). Evangelist.
PENN, GRANVILLE (1761-1844). Writer.

† PENN, JAS. (1727-1800). Writer; Clavering. Ⓔ
PENN, JN. (1729-95). Lt. Governor of Pennsylvania (U.S.A.)
PENN, RIC. (1736-1811). Deputy governor of Pennsylvania (U.S.A.)
PENN, THOS. (1702-75). Pennsylvanian.
* PENNYMAN, JN. (1628-1706). Quaker apostate.
* PERROT, JN. (d. 1671). Emigrant to W. Indies.
PHILIPPS, JENKIN T. (d. 1755). Translator.
PHILP, ROB. K. (1819-92). Publisher.
* PHIPPS, JOS. (1708-87). Evangelist.
* PICKWORTH, HEN. (1673?-1738?). Quaker apostate.
† PIKE, JN. D. G. (1784-1854). Baptist.
† PINKE, WM. (1602-28). Writer.
† PITTIS, THOS. (1636-82). Royal chaplain.
† PLUME, THOS. (1630-1704). Founder of Plume library, Maldon. Ⓔ
* POLLARD, WM. (1828-93). Writer.
† POMFRET, SAM. (1650-1722). Nonconformist; High Easter. Ⓔ
PORY, JN. (1570?-1635). Geographer.
* POST, JACOB (1774-1855). Evangelist.
† PRICE, WM. (1597-1646). Professor.
PRICE, WM. (1780-1830). Orientalist.
† PRIDDEN, JN. (1758-1825). Antiquary; Heybridge and Little Wakering. Ⓔ
* PRIESTMAN, JN. (1805-66). Philanthropist.
† PULLEN, SAM. (1598-1667). Archbishop of Tuam, Ireland.
PULLEN, SAM. (fl. 1734-60). Writer on silkworms.
† PULLEN, TOBIAS (1648-1713). Bishop of Cloyne and Dromore, Ireland.
* PURVER, ANT. (1702-77). Translator of the Bible.

† RANDALL, JN. (1570-1622). Puritan.
† RANEW, NAT. (1602?-1678). Ejected minister; Felsted. Ⓔ
† RATCLIFFE, THOS. (d. 1599). Writer.
† READ, THOS. (1606-69). Royalist.
REEDE, JN. DE, BARON REEDE (1593-1683). Ambassador.
† REEVE, EDMUND (d. 1660). High Churchman.
† RESBURY, NAT. (1643-1711). Chaplain to William and Mary.
† REYNER, EDW. (1600-68). Ejected minister.
† REYNOLDS, RIC. (d. 1606). Scholar; Stapleford Abbots, Lambourne, and West Thurrock. Ⓔ
* REYNOLDS, RIC. (1735-1816). Philanthropist.
RHODES, EBENEZER (1762-1839). Topographer.
RICH, MARY, COUNTESS OF WARWICK (1625-78). Puritan; Little Leighs. Ⓔ
RICH, RIC. (fl. 1609-10). Explorer in Virginia (U.S.A.)
RICH, ROB., EARL OF WARWICK (1587-1658). Lord Lieutenant. Ⓔ

* RICH, ROB. (d. 1679). Philanthropist.
RICHARDS, THOS. (d. 1564?) Monk and Translator.
† RICHARDS, WM. (1643-1705). Writer.
* RICHARDSON, GEO. (1773-1862). Evangelist.
† RICHARDSON, JN. (1580-1654). Bp. of Armagh, Ireland.
* RICHARDSON, JN. (1667-1753). Evangelist.
* RICHARDSON, THOS. (1771-1853). Philanthropist.
RICKMAN, THOS. (known as CLIO) (1761-1834) Reformer.
* RIGG, AMBROSE (1635-1705). Evangelist.
† ROACH, RIC. (1662-1710). Philadelphian mystic.
† ROBERTS, FRAN. (1609-75). Puritan.
† ROBERTS, JOS. (1795-1849). Wesleyan missionary, Ceylon.
* ROBERTS, MARY (1788-1864). Writer.
ROBERTSON, JAS. (1714-95). Orientalist.
† ROBERTSON, JOS. (1726-1802). Writer.
† ROBINSON, HASTINGS (1792-1866). Scholar; Great Warley. Ⓔ
† ROBINSON, RALPH (1614-55). Puritan.
ROEBUCK, THOS. (1781-1819). Orientalist.
† ROGERS, DAN. (1573-1652). Puritan; Wethersfield. Ⓔ
† ROGERS, NAT. (1598-1655). Puritan; Haverhill &c. Ⓔ
† ROGERS, NEHEMIAH (1593-1660). Puritan; Messing, Great Tey &c. Ⓔ
† ROLLE (or ROLLS), SAM. (fl. 1657-78). Physician and writer.
† ROSEWELLE, SAM. (1679-1722). Writer.
ROTHE, ROB. (1550-1622). Antiquary.
† ROUS, JN. (1584-1644). Diarist.
* ROUS, JN. (fl. 1656-95). Evangelist.
ROUSE (or RUSSE), JN. (1574-1652). Librarian.
* ROUTHE, MARTHA (1743-1817). Evangelist.
† ROW, THOS. (1786-1854). Baptist.
† ROWLANDS, HEN. (1655-1723). Welsh antiquary.
ROWLANDS (or VERSTEGEN), Ric. (fl. 1565-1620). Antiquary.
* ROWNTREE, JOS. (1801-59). Philanthropist.
† RUDD, SAYER (d. 1757). Medical practitioner.
† RUSSEL, WM. (d. 1702). Baptist physician.
† RUSSELL, JN. (1786-1863). Headmaster.
* RUTTER, JN. (1796-1851). Topographer.
RUTTER, JOS. (fl. 1635). Poet.
† RYAN, EDW. (d. 1819). Irish theologian.
† RYLAND, JN. C. (1723-92). Baptist schoolmaster.

† SADLER, ANT. (fl. 1630-1680). Political writer.
* SALTHOUSE, THOS. (1630-91). Evangelist.
* SAMBLE, RIC. (1644-80). Evangelist.
SAMS, JOS. (1784-1860). Orientalist.
SANDFORD (or SANFORD), JAS. (fl. 1567). Writer.
* SCOTT, JN. (1730-83). Poet.

† SEAGRAVE, ROB. (1693-1760?). Methodist.
† SECKER, WM. (d. 1681?). Writer; Leigh. Ⓔ?
† SEED, JEREMIAH (1700-47). Writer.
SERGEANT (EMILY FRANCES) ADELINE (1851-1904). Novelist.
SERGEANT, LEWIS (1841-1902). Journalist.
* SEWEL, WM. (1654-1720). Historian.
* SHARP ISAAC (1806-97) . Evangelist; Earls Colne. Ⓔ
† SHAW, JN. (1559-1625). Nonconformist.
† SHAW, JN. (1614-89). Writer.
* SHEWEN, WM. (1631?-1695). Writer.
* SHILLITOE, THOS. (1754-1836). Evangelist.
† SHUTE, JOSIAS (or JOSIAH) (1588-1643). Archdeacon of Colchester. Ⓔ
* SIMPSON, WM. (1627?-1671). Fanatic.
† SLADE, MAT. (1569-1628?). Brownist.
* SMITH, HUM. (d. 1663). Evangelist.
* SMITH, STEPHEN (1623-78). Evangelist.
* SMITH, WM. (d. 1673). Evangelist.
* STALHAM, JN. (d. 1681). Puritan; Terling. Ⓔ
STARKE, MARIANA (1762?-1838). Pioneer of guidebooks.
† STERRY, PETER (d. 1672). Cromwell's chaplain.
† STOCKTON, OWEN (1630-80). Puritan; Colchester. Ⓔ
* STORY, THOS. (1670?-1742). Evangelist.
* STURGE, JOS. (1793-1859). Philanthropist.
SWINDEN, HEN. (1716-72). Antiquary.

† TALLENTS, FRAN. (1619-1708). Presbyterian.
† TATTERSALL, WM. DE C. (1752-1829). Editor of psalmodies.
TAYLOR, JN. (1750-1826). Hymn-writer.
TAYLOR, JN. (1757-1832). Writer.
† TAYLOR, THOS. (1576-1733). Puritan.
* TAYLOR, THOS. (1618-82). Companion of Geo. Fox.
† TERRY (or TIRREYE), JN. (1555?-1625). Anti-Rom. Catholic writer.
THEYER, JN. (1597-1673). Antiquary.
TIMBERLAKE, HEN. (d. 1626). Traveller.
† TIPPING, WM. (1598-1649). Writer.
* TOMKINS, JN. (1663?-1706). Annalist; West Ham. Ⓔ
† TOZER, HEN. (1602-50). Puritan Royalist.
* TRAVERS, REBECCA (1609-88). Evangelist.
* TREGELLES, EDWIN O. (1806-86). Railway engineer.
* TUKE, HEN. (1755-1814). Writer.
* TURFORD, HUGH (d. 1713). Writer.
† TURNER, DAN. (1710-98). Baptist hymn-writer.
† TURNER, WM. (1653-1701). Writer.

VERSTEGEN, RIC. (fl. 1565-1620). See ROWLANDS, RIC.
† VINCENT, NAT. (1639?-1697). Nonconformist.

† VITELL (or VITELLS), CHRIS. (fl. 1555-79). Familist; Strethall, and Colchester. Ⓔ
* VOKINS, JOAN (d. 1690). Missionary, N. America.

† WADSWORTH, JAS. (1572?-1623). Jesuit.
WADSWORTH, JAS. (1604-1656?). Spanish scholar and renegade spy.
* WALKER, GEO. W. (1800-59). Missionary, Tasmania.
† WALKER, JN. (d. 1588). Archdeacon of Essex. Ⓔ
* WATKINS, MORGAN (fl. 1653-70). Evangelist.
† WATTS, GIL. (d. 1657). Scholar; Willingale Doe. Ⓔ
† WATTS, WM. (1590?-1649). Chaplain to Prince Rupert.
† WELLS, SAM. (d. 1678). Nonconformist.
WESTERN, CHAS. C., BARON WESTERN (1767-1844). Politician and agriculturist; Kelvedon. Ⓔ
† WHATELY, WM. (1583-1639). Puritan.
* WHEELER, DAN. (1771-1840). Missionary, Australasia &c.
† WHITE, JN. (1575-1648). Puritan.
† WHITE, WM. (1604-78). Scholar.
* WHITEHEAD, GEO. (1636-1723). Evangelist.
* WHITEHEAD, JN. (1630-96). Evangelist.
† WHITFELD (or WHITFIELD), HEN. (d. 1660?). Nonconformist lecturer in N. America.
* WHITING, JN. (1656-1722). Evangelist.
† WILD (or WYLDE), ROB. (1609-79). Puritan and poet.
† WILKINSON, HEN. (1610-75). Puritan.
† WILKINSON, HEN. (1616-90). Puritan; Epping &c. Ⓔ
† WILSON, THOS. (1563-1622). Biblical scholar.
WOODALL, WM. (1832-1901). Politician.
* WOLRICH (WOOLRICH or WOOLBRIDGE), HUM. (1633?-1707). Evangelist.
* WOOLMAN, JN. (1722-72). Essayist.
* WYETH, JOS. (1663-1731). Writer.

* YEARDLEY JN. (1786-1858). Missionary in Europe &c.

ESSEX REVIEW

Besides editing *ER* from 1898 to1933, Charlotte Fell Smith contributed items in 35 of the 45 volumes published between 1892 and 1936. The following list contains the titles of all her articles and long notes. Her short notes, preceded by Ⓝ, are indicated by volume and page only.

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THOMAS STEVENS (1841-1920), BISHOP OF BARKING. Obituary, xxix (1920), 200. [Chairman, *Essex Review Co.* from its formation in 1902].
Ⓝ xxx (1921), 55-6, 58.
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JOHN EVELYN BARCAS [EVELYN DOUGLAS]. xlii (1933), 142-4.
GLAZENWOOD. xliii (1934), 24-7, 149-52.
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OBITUARY OF CFS. xlvi (1937), 133-5; cf. 222.

THE VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY OF ESSEX

VCH Essex, volume II, ed. William Page and J. Horace Round, pp. xxi + 628. London, Archibald Constable & Co, 1907.
Includes following by CFS.

Pp. 414-5. THE MANUFACTURE OF 'ART' POTTERY.

Pp. 426-9. THE SILK INDUSTRY (with Miller Christy).

Pp. 484-7. LACE-MAKING.

Pp. 501-64. SCHOOLS. [Revised by A.F. Leach; see 518 note 3 and Preface to the volume.] This section contains histories of 25 grammar or secondary schools, mostly old endowments, and brief details of 60 elementary schools founded before 1800. The grammar schools are as follows: places marked with an asterisk* are known to have had schools before 1500. Colchester* (502-8); Halstead* (509); Braintree* (510); Chelmsford, King Edward VI (510-14); Great Baddow (514); Coggeshall (514-15); Pleshey (515-16); Maldon* 516-18); Saffron Walden* (518-25); Earls Colne (526-7); Walthamstow, Sir George Monoux (527-8); Brentwood (528-31); Felsted (531-8); Dedham, Queen Elizabeth's (538-41); Newport (541-4); Chigwell, Harsnett's (544-6); West Ham, Bonnell's (girls) (546-7); Saffron Walden, Friend's (Quakers), (547); Grays Thurrock, Palmer's (547-8); Woodford, Bancroft's (548-9); Walthamstow, Forest (549-50); Walthamstow Technical institute (550); Walthamstow High school for girls (551); Great Dunmow, the countess of Warwick's Agricultural school (551); and Lexden, Kendall's (Quaker) (551).

The elementary schools listed below include the following 16 known to have existed in the sixteenth century. Harlow; Rayleigh; Bocking (552); Writtle; Gosfield (553); Prittlewell; Thaxted; Orsett (554); Great Chesterford; Finchingfield; Hornchurch (555); Elmdon; Great Bardfield (556); Wethersfield (557); Langham and Steeple Bumpstead (558). There were eight seventeenth-century foundations: at Kelvedon; North Weald (559); Hatfield Peverel; Barking; Great Yeldham; Ongar (560); Great Burstead and Fyfield (551).

Unsigned review: ER xvi (1907), 101-6.

SEPARATE BOOKS

STEVEN CRISP AND HIS CORRESPONDENTS, 1657-1692. A synopsis of the letters in the 'Colchester Collection.' Pp. lvi + 91. London, E. Hicks jun. 1892. This Collection is thought to have been bequeathed by Crisp to the Colchester Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, which held it in 1892. For microfilms of it see Essex Record Office T/A 424/6/3 and 4. Unsigned review: *ER* i (1892), 247-9. An article on Crisp by A.C. Bickley, in the first edition of *DNB*, would have been known to CFS.

MARY RICH, COUNTESS OF WARWICK (1625-1678), HER FAMILY AND FRIENDS. Pp. xvi + 377. London, Longmans, Green & Co, 1901. Unsigned review: *ER* xi (1901), 49-54. CFS also wrote the article on Mary Rich in *DNB*.

JAMES PARNELL. DIED IN COLCHESTER CASTLE AET. 19. Pp. 111. London, Headley Bros. 1906, 2nd edn, 1907. Unsigned review: *Essex Review*, xv (1906), 162-3. CFS also wrote on James Parnell in *DNB*.

MEMORIALS OF OLD ESSEX. Ed. By A. Clifton Kelway.
Pp. xii + 281. London, Bemrose & Sons. 1908.
Pp. 184-208. 'Historic Houses.'
Pp. 226-46. 'Essex Worthies.'
Unsigned review: *ER* xviii (1909), 59-62.

JOHN DEE. Pp. xiii + 342. London, Constable & Co. 1909.
Review by Charles E. Benham: *ER* xviii (1909), 209-15.

AN ANTHOLOGY OF ESSEX. Collected by Isabel Lucy and Beatrice Mary Gould. Ed. and arranged with additions and Bibliographical Index by Charlotte Fell Smith. Pp. xvi + 268. London, Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1911.
Unsigned review: *ER* xx (1911) 164-7.

JAMES NICHOLSON RICHARDSON OF BESSBROOK. Pp. ix + 243. London, Longmans. 1925.
Review by G.J. Hornsby Wright: *ER* xxxv (1926), 52-6.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

Periodicals to which CFS contributed include *Chambers, Cornhill, Country Life , The Friend, Land Magazine, Longmans*, and the *National Review*. [Obits. in *Essex Review* xlvi (1937) and *Mount Old Scholars Annual Rep.* (1937)]. She also wrote short notices for the *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*. [Inf. from the librarian, Friends House, London]. None of these periodicals has been searched for this article, but the following items have been noted.

THE FARM LABOURER. *Land Mag.* 1898 (Reprinted in *ER* xii (1903), 242-8. Quoted in *Anthology of Essex*, 40.
MERCHANT MORLEY. *Cornhill Mag.* (1903), 115. (Quoted in *Anthology of Essex*, 115). [Jn. Morley of Halstead].
BOREHAM HOUSE. *Country Life xxxvi (1914), 54.*
LEEZ PRIORY. Ibid. 486.
NEW HALL [BOREHAM]. Ibid. 550 [This was cut short due to wartime paper restrictions: *ER* xxiii (1914), 219].

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Alan Sell, *Testimony and Tradition - Studies in Reformed and Dissenting* Thought, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005

Alan Sell was for a time Theological Secretary of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches but these recent essays, written during the nine years he held the Chair of Christian Doctrine and Philosophy of Religion at the United Theological College, Aberystwyth, are a reminder of his roots in the distinguished and distinctive world of learned Dissent. His previous work has ranged from a commitment to the philosophy of religion and the importance of Christian apologetic to the careful historical examination of the doctrinal debates, which have marked and often disrupted the Congregationalist tradition. This miscellany of papers provides an attractive introduction to those who are unfamiliar with his thought, and helps to place that work in a personal and ecclesiastical context. Both the doctrinal and the historical studies are marked by a concern for balance and fair mindedness, which the title of his inaugural lecture exemplifies - *Conservation and Exploration*. Only the proof reading could have been more rigorous.

Two wide-ranging historical surveys of worship in English Congregationalism, and the diversity of the English Baptists are balanced by two detailed examinations of comparatively neglected figures, Henry Grove and Andrew Fuller. In 'A Renewed Plea for 'Impractical' Divinity' and Reformed Theology: Whence and Whither?' there is a robust restatement of the importance of theology in an intellectual and ecclesiastical climate that is often discouraging. There is a fascinating account of the developments of Congregational Ecclesiology in the 1960s, to which Sell himself contributed and which he was well placed to observe. Throughout one feels the influence of Richard Baxter and P.T. Forsyth. Temperamentally in his careful good sense Sell is much closer to Baxter, but he is obviously entranced by Forsyth, whose pungent style has a passion and excitement, which Sell rarely attains. He may deplore the polarizing rhetoric, but opposites attract. Forsyth having first dallied with liberalism gave powerful and thrilling expression to the claims of revelation.

Friends will be interested in two aspects of Sell's thought. First, his account of the Church Meeting in Congregationalist and Baptist thought is a reminder that many of the features which are most distinctive of the Quaker Meeting for Worship for Business are common

to the whole English Independent tradition. Sell's stress on the importance of the Church Meeting and his lament of its neglect will find an echo among many Quaker Clerks. Secondly, he happily describes himself as a 'Minister of the Gospel, of the Dissenting sort'. At a time when ecumencial good manners have often inhibited Christian criticism of the Anglican establishment he has not been afraid to draw attention to its continuing dangers and doctrinal incoherence. It is a criticism which many Friends would wish to make their own.

Sell's approach is always towards the comprehension of 'both/and'; he distrusts the contrasts of 'either/or', yet he seems to remain ultimately uncritical of a Calvinism which aligns itself uncompromisingly with the latter rather than the former. One might have imagined that he would have found R.S. Franks an altogether more congenial theological partner than P.T. Forsyth. In an earlier work he described Franks' account of the Atonement as 'among the most intellectually stimulating books I have reviewed'. Sadly, perhaps, that stimulus seems to have left little trace.

Graham Shaw

Yorkshire Friends in historical perspective: an introduction **by David Rubinstein; Quacks Books York YO1 7HU 2005, pp. 50 + illus. £.3.00**

This substantial booklet has been published in good time to be a most helpful source of information for Friends attending Yearly Meeting in York in the summer of 2005. It ably links growth and decline in the numbers of Yorkshire Friends compared with those in the country generally and the development of movements which affected the whole Society with the response to such development among Friends in Yorkshire Quarterly (later General) Meeting.

The author claims Balby as the birthplace of Quakerism in contradiction to assigning the birthplace to the 1652 country but gives scant recognition to Scrooby and none to Ollerton and Mansfield, all in Nottinghamshire, where groups had received Fox well as early as 1647-48. However this thinking is in line with that of nearly all historians of Quakerism who pay little attention to Nottinghamshire but this view depends on how one interprets "birthplace". The movement grew rapidly in Yorkshire despite persecution under Cromwell which intensified after the Restoration in 1660. Despite legal restrictions upon gatherings, Friends were able to build meeting houses even before the era of greater tolerance after 1689 and the author gives a most useful guide to the early meeting houses in Yorkshire.

Persecution can lead to growth in numbers and by 1680 the best estimate is that 1 in 130 of the population were Friends, the equivalent

of about 460,000 today. Older Friends who were members of the Society between 1939 and 1945 will recall the feeling of togetherness we experienced during those years. During the quietist period the national membership fell from about 40-60,000 in the late seventeenth century to about 20,000 in 1800 and 14,000 by 1851 but some places, notably Whitby where a new meeting house to hold 500 was built in 1813, bucked the trend. Some of the wealthier families like the Barclays, Buxtons and Lloyds left the Society but in Yorkshire fewer wealthy families left Friends than elsewhere. In the early nineteenth century Friends collaborated with Evangelicals in several crusades; for prison reform, to abolish slavery, to establish schools, to discourage drunkenness and in the treatment of mental illness where they were pioneers. While membership decline was less in Yorkshire than nationally in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the decline since 1945 has been 38 per cent compared with 23 per cent in Britain Yearly Meeting as a whole. One of the causes of decline which the author has not researched was a growth of Methodism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which attracted many Friends in some parts of the country, possibly for example in Lincolnshire.

The author deals well with the changes that came in the Society in the mid-nineteenth century; the abandonment of disownment for marrying out and the abolition of the compulsory plain dress. The end of that century saw greater acceptance of new ideas in a turn away from evangelicalism towards more traditional Quaker beliefs that had found expression in the Manchester Conference of 1895 and had been anticipated by some Yorkshire Friends a few years earlier. Change was in the air but not such drastic change as in the later twentieth century. What change! The first Yearly Meeting held outside London was at Leeds in 1905 when the meeting 'almost spontaneously sang "When I survey the wondrous cross"'.

Change took place in the disuse of the plain language. I last remember its use in 1941 when Philip Radley addressed his mother Maria, 'thee knows mother'. It is interesting to note the ungrammatical use, never 'thou knowest', always 'thee knows'. Also change in the form of address to given and family name whereas for some years after becoming a Friend Anna Barlow was still called Lady Barlow. The changes in the Society at the turn of the century showed that many Friends had not thought through the peace testimony for differing views were held by Friends on the Boer War, the 1914-18 War and again, though with less division in 1939. Friends became more active in political life. The first Member of Parliament was Joseph Pease in 1832 and in 1904 *The Friend* listed 36 M.P.s. since that date.

This booklet offers a very good introduction to Yorkshire Friends and

the author demonstrates his wide reading of secondary sources: it will be most helpful to Friends seeking information, on schools, meeting houses and burial grounds in the county. There are well chosen illustrations including one of a previous Y.M. held in York in 1941.

Gerald Hodgett

[Editor: copies of the booklet can be obtained from: David Rubinstein, 6 Portland Street, York YO31 7EH at £3.00 each, including postage and packing.]

***Sufferings of Early Quakers: South West England 1654 to 1690*, introduction by Michael Gandy, Sessions Book Trust 2004, £12.**

This is the sixth volume which forms a part of Besse's *Sufferings*. It is a facsimile of the entries for South West England from the original 1753 edition compiled by Joseph Besse - an edition which is not easily available to researchers. Five previous volumes have appeared between 1998 and 2003 and the publisher's intention is that the whole country will be covered in due course. The facsimile is reprinted in reduced size but it is easily readable by all except those with eye problems.

This volume is essentially a tool for historians and researchers into the early history of the Society of Friends but for others who may wish to peruse it, light is thrown on legal practice and prison conditions in the seventeenth century. In view of the current discussion on inhumane treatment and humiliation of prisoners in Iraq and Guantanamo the events chronicled here reveal that unacceptable standards were present in the seventeenth century as they still are in the twenty-first.

On looking through the indexes the names of some old Quaker families now or recently resident in the south-west do not appear but Clark, Ellis and Fry are present.

Gerald Hodgett

Charles F. Foster, *Seven Households: life in Cheshire and Lancashire 1582 to 1774*, Arley Hall Press, 2002, pp. 248, £11.95
Charles F. Foster, *Capital and Innovation: how Britain became the first industrial nation*, Arley Hall Press, 2004, pp. 373, £16.95

Charles Foster is obviously a man of parts. He has been a financier and a self-employed entrepreneur, so that he is much more familiar than most historians with 'capital and innovation'. He married into a family with an enviable collection of records of commercial enterprise in the north west of England, centring on Arley Hall south of Warrington, and in retirement has turned himself into a skilled

historian and his own publisher. The reader is much in his debt for his meticulous examination of archives at Arley Hall and elsewhere.

Quakers figure largely in both books reviewed here, partly because of the ready availability of Quaker records, partly because of the prominence of Quakers in business and commerce in north-west England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centures. One of his *Seven Households* is the Fells of Swarthmoor Hall, geographically distant from the others studied, and *Capital and Innovation*, which is particularly lavishly illustrated, devotes a chapter to the Quaker Hough family and their connections around Warrington.

The author is not a Friend and his books (these are the last two of four devoted to the economy of north-west England in his chosen period) are not intended to be a major contribution to Quaker history. One does tend to become a little impatient to read yet again that Quakers were successful in business because of their honesty and fair dealing. Quakers, it must be realised, were only one group of successful businessmen before 1880. In his foreword to *Capital and Innovation* the historian François Crouzet reminds us that in the eighteenth century many entrepreneurs were Anglicans.

As time passed and Quaker businessmen became well known their reputation for fair dealing was no doubt an asset in business; more important was the fact that, excluded from the professions by inability to attend the ancient English universities and from state employment they were compelled to enter other occupations. Still more important was the feature stressed by John Rule in *Albions' People* (1992): 'The Quakers were exceptional and indeed the mutual support, especially financial, available within their small world had as much to do with their success as any special attitude, education or motivation.' Roy Porter, another prominent historian of eighteenth century England, wrote in 1982: 'Nonconformists *were* prominent as entrepreneurs, though not because of their creed, but because they fomed a tight-knit, "marginal" group spared the fashionable world of dissipation - Quakers in particular'. The chief criterion for Quaker success in business, that is, was neither fair dealing nor theological doctrine, but their exclusion from important areas of the national life and, in particular, membership of a religious society whose adherents actively supported each other. At the same time it is fair to note that any economic history of Britain between 1650 and 1880 (and later) cannot omit Quakers.

I am also sceptical about Foster's assertion that Quakers were 'all fighting [sic] to establish a more just, fairer and more equal world and equal for women as well as men'. If there was Quaker concern to establish a fairer secular world it was limited to a relatively brief period in the seventeenth century. There is little evidence that Friends in the

eighteenth century were fighting or even seeking to establish a better world until opposition to the slave trade became prominent late in the century. Quaker historians will be surprised to learn of gender equality amongst early Friends - it would be more accurate if inelegant to say that women were less unequal among Quakers than in other religions.

It is also surprising to read that by the beginning of the eighteenth century the only legal disadvantage suffered by Friends was' the regular distraint of small sums for non-payment of tithes'. Leaving aside the question of whether regular distraint was as minor an annoyance as implied, one must remember that Protestant Nonconformists could not legally vote or sit in Parliament until 1828 or enjoy equality at Oxford and Cambridge until 1871. Historians must be wary of making generalisations outside their own field unless supported by evidence.

Having said all this, it must be stated that these complaints are of minor blemishes in books which offer a great deal to Quakers interested in their past. We should be grateful for the reworking of the detailed accounts of the Fell family in the 1670s. The account book used by Foster was published as long ago as 1920, but his discussion is full of interest. The Fell agricultural practices, textile production, trading ventures, iron smelting and 'primitive banking service' are all discussed. Dairymaids, even those who bore considerable responsibility, seem to have been paid no more than £2 a year, but Susannah Fletcher received a surprisingly high interest rate of 5¾ per cent for depositing £100 for a year with Sarah Fell, one of the seven daughters of Thomas and Margaret Fell. Foster concludes his account of the Houghs by noting that Quakers were no more devoted to their business enterprises than Anglicans or other dissenters, and even their philanthropy and social activities were not strikingly different from contemporary non-Quakers. 'What may have distinguished [Quakers] was not their earning but their spending habits. We find no mention of the grand houses they built, the parks they laid out or the great entertainments they provided. They invested spare capital in income-producing farms and probably saved large sums annually for reinvestment.'

Foster ambitiously sets out the criteria for creating an industrial revolution, comparing his chosen area with the south-west of England and with other countries, Not surprisingly he finds a 'large group of fairly rich manufacturers' deserves most credit. Some of them boldly set out to discover how to spin more quickly and find an improved source of power. In the south-west, on the other hand, 'the culture of the small business communities ... seems to have been submerged by the gentry culture of the landowners and the old established business families'. The industrial revolution, on this reading, was the product of a

relatively egalitarian society with many families each with a small amount of capital, not a small number of super-rich landowners.

The theory seems both convenient for the author and over-simple. As François Crouzet muses, 'one can wonder if this was enough'. `Yet there does seem much of value in it. As Crouzet also says, it is refreshing to come to grass roots level and meet real individuals. I would, however, recommend more enthusiastically the meticulous detail provided by Foster than his generalisations.

David Rubinstein

The books are on sale at the Friends Bookshop on Euston Road and can also be purchased free of packing and postage from the publisher; tel. 01565 777 231

Pendle Hill Pamphlets 357 and 376 *A Plea for the Poor* by John Woolman, 2001, pp. 56
Henry J. Cadbury: Scholar, Activist, Disciple by Margaret Hope Bacon, 2005, pp. 38

Pendle Hill, the residential study centre at Wallingford, Pennsylvania has since 1934 published a variety of pamphlets on Quaker faith and practice, the inward journey, social concerns, religion and psychology, biblical exegesis, literature, art and biography.

I have chosen two of Pendle Hill's fairly recent publications which deal with two pivotal Quaker personalities.

As I wrote an appreciation of John Woolman in 1999 (*John Woolman: quintessential Quaker*) as well as his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, I was attracted to pamphlet 357. It is a highly welcome reprinting of Woolman's *A Plea for the Poor*. That writing was originally published in 1793, twenty years after the anti-slavery pioneer's death, and it became one of his most cited works.

The Fabian Society founded in England in 1884 used it as one of its tracts. George Bernard Shaw belonged to the socialist society which advocated social change through gradual reform rather than by violent revolutionary actions associated with other socialist groups of the time. You need go no further than the opening paragraph of *A Plea for the Poor* to see why socialists would find it appealing.

'Wealth desired for its own sake obstructs the increase of virtue, and large possessions in the hands of selfish men have a bad tendency, for by their means too small a number of people are employed in things useful; and therefore they, or some of them, are necessitated to labour too hard, while others would want business to earn their bread were not

employments invented which, having no real use, serve only to please the vain mind.'

Of course, Woolman was no socialist, but his thinking always appealed to those who saw inequities in the world. As did he. Though largely remembered for his extraordinary anti-slavery campaign, Woolman also wrote about the plight of the Native Americans. In fact, *A Plea for the Poor* is thought to have been composed soon after his journey to Wyalusing to Indian settlements where, as he said, 'I might feel and understand their life and the spirit they live in...'

Woolman saw that the Indians' future plight was similar to that of the Negro slave and for both 'the seeds of great calamity and desolation are sown and growing fast on this continent.' In his essay he related poverty to wasteful consumption. It is truly remarkable just how far-sighted he was.

And it goes further: man's attitude toward creation and what we have come to call the environment:

'Our gracious Creator cares and provides for all his creatures. His tender mercies are over all his works; and, so far as his love influences our minds, so far we become interested in his workmanship, and feel a desire to take hold of every opportunity to lessen the distresses of the afflicted and increase the happiness of the Creation. Here we have a prospect of one common interest, from which our own is inseparable, that to turn all the treasures we possess into the channel of Universal Love becomes the business of our lives.'

Prophetic words and it has taken us 300 years since Woolman's death to recognize the inter-connection of man to creation; of poverty to our wasteful consumption of Earth's resources. In a later work, *Conversation on the True Harmony of Mankind* composed in 1772 before his fateful journey to England, Woolman put it even stronger:

'The produce of the earth is a gift from our gracious creator to the inhabitants, and to impoverish the earth now to support outward greatness appears to be an injury to the succeeding age.' How we need to heed those words today!

***

Henry Joel Cadbury (1883-1974) was one of the most respected and influential Quakers of the twentieth century. With his brother-in-law, Rufus Jones, he brought to American Quakerism a remarkable intellectual stimulation which is evident even to our own day.

For twenty years Cadbury was Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard Divinity School and in her Pendle Hill pamphlet, Margaret Hope Bacon wisely says Cadbury was' one of the finest scholars the

Religious Society of Friends has ever produced.'

He was one of the translators of the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament and during his lifetime published thirty nine books as well as over one hundred scholarly articles. But Cadbury was also a social activist and liked to say: 'Why must it be belief into action? Why not action into belief?'

A committed pacifist Cadbury was a founder and twice chair of the American Friends Service Committee. He guided the organisation into the world-wide service which brought it the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize.

Cadbury's writing on the Gospel of Luke won him the respect of other scholars. I remember Bishop John A.T. Robinson once telling me that because of Cadbury he could easily be a Quaker. Like Robinson, Cadbury believed that the Bible should never be interpreted with the assumptions of the modern age. Instead, interpreters must immerse themselves in the culture and language from which the scriptures sprang.

With Rufus Jones Cadbury helped to heal the outmoded and disgraceful split in Philadelphia Quakerism. His conclusion was that the difficulty came not from doctrinal differences but the assumption of authority of a few Philadelphia Quaker families.

Ironically one unifying element came with the passage of the Conscription Act in America. With Rufus Jones the various groups of Friends came together to cooperate in the practical task of providing alternative service for conscientious objectors.

Cadbury also rigorously stood up for academic freedom in colleges and universities in America. Personally he suffered at his beloved Haverford College when after the First World War he attacked the hysteria toward Germany when the government there was making peace overtures. Unfortunately Cadbury used Haverford stationery to make his protest and left Haverford on a leave of absence.

He continued to speak up for the Germans when it was reported by the American Friends Service Committee that there was widespread starvation among children in Germany.

Cadbury continued his varied efforts to his death in 1974. One writing particularly interesting to me was one of his last: *John Woolman in England in 1772* published by the Friends Historical Society in 1971. It is a masterpiece of scholarship and Cadbury corrected a number of erroneous assumptions concerning Woolman. I can only imagine what a work by Cadbury on the entire life of Woolman might have been.

Cadbury has, however, left a great legacy. Would that the Society had more intellectual titans such as he.

David Sox

BIOGRAPHIES

JOHN PUNSHON

Before retiring he was Professor of Quaker Studies at Earlham College and the Earlham School of Religion, having been Quaker Studies Tutor at Woodbrooke in the 1980s. His Swarthmore Lecture for 1990, *Testimony and Tradition*, examined the nature of the Quaker testimonies, and his latest book, *Reasons for Hope* (2001) is an assessment of the present state of Evangelical Quakerism. With fine disregard for tradition he is simultaneously an Elder of Milton Keynes Meeting and a Recorded Minister in Indiana Yearly Meeting.

DIANA MORRISON-SMITH

Diana Morrison-Smith is a trained historian and has maintained long-standing interests in rural social history and in religious history. Over recent years she has been transcribing previously unpublished Penington and Nayler manuscripts for analysis by others. The Nayler letters are now included in "*The Works of James Nayler*:: Vol II" Quaker Heritage Press, Pennsylvania, 2004. Much of the Penington material appears in "*Knowing the Mystery of Life Within*: *Selected Writings of Isaac Penington in their historical and theological context*" selected and introduced by R. Melvin Keiser and Rosemary Moore, to be published by Quaker Life in Summer 2005."

SUE SMITHSON is the Librarian and HILARY PINDER is the Clerk of Jordans Preparative Meeting.

W. RAYMOND POWELL

Went up to Oxford in 1939 with a scholarship at Merton College. During the war he served as an R.A.F. radar operator and instructor: From 1951 to 1986 he was Essex editor of the *Victoria County Histories*, contributing many articles to its volumes. Among his other publications are *Local History from Blue Books*, *Essex in Domesday Book*, and articles in the *English Historical Review*, the *Pipe Roll* series, *Archives*, the *Antiquaries Journals*, *Essex Archaeology and History* and elsewhere. He is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a past-President of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History. He and his wife, Avril, who has collaborated with him on several publications, now live in Norwich. They were married in 1942 and have three children and six grandchildren.

ERRATA

Vol 59 No 2

Inside front cover, line 18: 'Howard F Gregg' should read 'Patricia R Sparks'.

Vol 59 No 3

Page 237, line 32: The John Pim who operated the shipping line was probably resident in Dublin and not the same as the John Pim of London.
Page 249, line 32: 'dictatorship' should read directorship'.
Page 253, footnote 22 'ibid 7 July 1824' should read '7 June 1824'.
Page 255, footnote 76 'DMA, 11 April 1824' should read 'DMA, 11 April 1825'.

Vol 60 No 1

Page 59. line 10: 'event' should read 'extent'.

Supplements to the Journal of Friends Historical Society

21. AN ORATOR'S LIBRARY. John Bright's books. Presidential address 1936 by J. Travis Mills. 1946. 24pp., 50p

22. LETTERS TO WILLIAM DEWSBURY AND OTHERS. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. 1948. 68pp. £3.00

24. THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY OF EARLY FRIENDS, Presidential address by Frederick B. Tolles, 1952. £1.00

28. PATTERNS OF INFLUENCE IN ANGLO-AMERICAN QUAKERISM. By Thomas E. Drake. 1958. £1.00

29. SOME QUAKER PORTRAITS, CERTAIN AND UNCERTAIN. By John Nickalls. 1958. Illustrated. £1.00

32. JOHN WOOLMAN IN ENGLAND, 1772. By Henry J. Cadbury. 1971. £2.00

33. JOHN PERROT. By Kenneth L. Carroll. 1971. £2.00

34. "THE OTHER BRANCH": LONDON Y.M. AND THE HICKSITES, 1827-1912. By Edwin B. Bronner. 1975. £1.25

35. ALEXANDER COWAN WILSON, 1866-1955. By Stephen Wilson. 1974. £1.00

FHS, Occasional Series No. 1 MANCHESTER, MANCHESTER AND MANCHESTER AGAIN: from 'SOUND DOCTRINE' to 'A FREE MINISTRY'. By Roger C. Wilson. 1990. Members £2.00, Non-Members £3.00.

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